Mars, Puer, Alecto, Virgo, Vulpes, LEO, Nullius.

Mars, Puer, Alecto, Virgo, Vulpes, LEO, Nullius.

THE

Court and Character OF King James:

Whereunto is now added

THE

Court of King CHARLES:

CONTINUED

Unto the beginning of these *Unhappy TIMES.*

With some Observations upon Him in stead of a Character.

Collected and perfected by Sir *A. W.*

Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare.

Published by Authority.

Printed at *London* by *R.I.* and are to be sold by *J. Collins* in *Little Britaine*, 1651.

To my most Honoured, and truly Noble Lady, the Lady *Elizabeth Sidley* of *South fleet*.

Madam,

I *Here present you with an Epitomee of some secret Passages, in the whole reign of one King, part of anothers: Of which, my self have been either an Eare or Eye-witnesse, or, from the testimony of such as have been Authours or Actors, therefore unquestionable Truths.*

It is the Conception and Birth of four daies, with the help of some scattered Papers (as a Midwife) to bring them into the world.

Being therefore but an Embryon,

on, you cannot expect any perfect shape: But, what it wants in that, you shall finde in the most perfect form of undeniable Truths.

The honourable esteem I have ever had of you, and your brave Parts, is my first motive of presenting it to your view: That it comes from no ordinary Author (this being the first, and for ought I know the last) a second: That it was written in a Melancholly humour, therefore fittest for your Melancholly Temper, the last.

I dare no more trust any other hand to write this than (willingly) any but your selfe, or some such good friends to read it.

Which is the reason it appeares no fairer to your view. And it treads

treads too near the heeles of truth, and theſe Times, to appear in publick.

If you ſhal pleaſe to accept of it, as worthy to caſt a glance upon at your idle, or melancholly hours, I have my full deſires. If caſt from you, it hath juſt Deſerts.

Mine ambition only is, that ſo Noble a Lady ſhal be the God-mother of the firſt and only heir, that ever ſhall come of this quality, from

Your Ladiſhips moſt
humble Servant.

A. W.

Upon

Upon the Authors Discourse and Observations concerning the whole Reigne of King *James*, and part of King *Charles*'s.

Reader, here view a Picture of our Times
Drawn to the life; the foulest secret Crimes
Discover'd, with their Authors: Tricks of State
To create guilty soules, the Peoples hate,
The Prince's feares: Favourites Rise and Fall,
Greatnesse debauched, Gentry slighted all
To please those Favourites, whose highest ends
Were to exhaust the State, to please their friends.
View the Isles first Monarch dead, the Seconds breath,
Prerogatives sole life, the Kingdomes death.

He

THE Court of King *James*.

OR

A generall Discourse of some secret passages in State, since the death of that ever glorious Queene *Elizabeth*, untill this present.

By the Authors owne observation, who was either an eye, or eare witnesse, or from such as were actors in them, from their owne Relation.

UPon the Twenty fourth of *March*, 1602. did set the most glorious Sun that ever shined in our Firmament of *England* (the never to be forgotten Queen *Elizabeth*, of happy memory) about Q. E. death

about three in the morning, at her Mannour of *Richmond*; not only to the unspeakable griefe of her Servants in particular, but of all her Subjects in generall.

And although many of her Courtiers adored that rising Sun appearing in the North, yet since, not without regret of their monstrous ingratitude to her (that Sun) now set, and in peace:

For no sooner was that Sun set; but Sir *Robert Carew* (Her neare Kinsman, and whose Family, and himself, she had raised from the degree of a meane Gentleman, to high Honour, in title and place) most ingratefully did catch at Her last breath, to carry it to the rising Sun then in *Scotland*, notwithstanding a strict Charge laid to keep fast all the Gates, yet (his Father being Lord Chamberlaine) he by that meanes found favour to get out, to carry the first newes; which although it obtained for him the Governourship

of

of the Duke of *York*, yet hath set so wide a mark of ingratitude on him, that it will remaine to Posterity a greater blot, then the honour hee obtained afterward will ever wipe out.

About nine in the morning of that day, was proclaimed King *James* of blessed memory, by the name of *James* the first; and now nothing on all hands, but preparations for accommodating him in his journey for *England*, many posting into *Scotland* for preferment, either by indearing themselves by some merit of their owne to the King, or by purchasing friends with their purses (Gold and Silver being a precious commodity in that Climate, and would procure any thing) and did procure Suits, Honours, and Offices to any that first came; of all which the King afterward extended his bounty in so large and ample a manner, as procured his owne impoverishment, to the pressure of his Subjects,

K. *James* proclaimed King.

jects, so farre as set some distance between him and them, which his wisdome, and King-craft, could easily at all times reconcile.

The first that came from the King to the Lords in *England*, to give order for all things necessary for the expediting his journey toward *England*, was Sir *Roger Aston* an *English-man* borne, but had his breeding wholly in *Scotland*, and had served the King many yeares as his Barber, an honest and free-hearted man, and of an ancient Family in *Cheshire*, but of no breeding answerable to his birth; yet he was the only man ever employed, as a Messenger from the King to Queen *Elizabeth*, as a Letter carrier only, which expressed their owne intentions without any helpe from him (besides the delivery) but even in that capacity was in very good esteeme with her Majesty, and received very royall rewards, which did inrich him, and gave him a better

Sir Roger Aston K. James his Barber.

Re-

Revenue then most Gentlemen in *Scotland*; for the Queene did finde him as faithfull to Her as to his Master, in which he shewed much wisdome, though of no breeding. In this his employment I must not passe over one pretty passage, I have heard himselfe relate; That he did never come to deliver any Letters from his Master, but ever he was placed in the Lobby; the Hangings being turned him, where he might see the Queen dancing to a little Fiddle, which was to no other end, then that he should tell his Master, by her youthfull disposition, how likely he was to come to the possession of the Crowne hee so much thirsted after; for you must understand, the wisest in that Kingdome did beleeve the King should never injoy this Crowne, as long as there was an old Wife in *England*, which they did beleeve we ever set up, as the other was dead.

Sir *Roger Aston* presenting himselfe

selfe before the Councell; being but a plaine untutored man, being asked how he did, and courted by all the Lords, lighted upon this happy reply; Even my Lords, like a poore man, wandring above forty yeares in a Wilderneſſe, and barren Soyle, am now arrived at the Land of Promiſe. This man was afterward made Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Maſter of the Wardrobe, and inveſted with ſuch Honours, and Offices as he was capable of, and that inabled him to live in a noble way, during his life, and to leave his Daughters great Fortunes; but had you ſeene how the Lords did vye courteſies to this poore Gentleman, ſtriving who ſhould ingroſſe that Commodity by the largeſt bounty; you could not but have condemned them of much baſeneſſe (eſpecially, ſeeing when at this time Offices, and great places of Honour will not be accepted from that Sonne) that the very Barber of whoſe Father was

Aftermade gentleman of the Bedchamber, &c

was so much courted, but to speake a good word in their behalfes. Surely the times are much altered.

And now all preparation was made to meet the King in *York*, that he might in that Northerne Metropolis appear like a King of *England*, and take that State on him there, which was not known in *Scotland*; There met him all the Lords of the Councell, and there did they all make Court to the Scotch-men that were most in favour with the King, and there did the *Scotch* Courtiers lay the first foundation of their *English* Fortunes; the chiefe of them was Sir *George Hewme*, a kinde of Favourite, but not such as after appeared with young Faces, and smooth Chins, but one that for his wisdome and gravity, had beene in some secret Councels with his Master, which created that dearnesse between them; and the chiefe of those secrets, was that of *Gowries* Conspiracy, though that Nation

Sir *George Hewme* a kind of Favourite

gave little credit to the Story, but would speak both sleightly and despitefully of it, and those of the wisest of that Nation; yet there was a weekly commemoration by the Tuesday Sermon, and an anniversary Feast, as great as it was possible, for the Kings preservation, ever on the fifth of *August*; upon which day as Sir *John Ramsey* after E. of *Holderneesse*, for his good service in that preservation, was the principall guest, so did the King grant him any Boone he would aske that day; but had such limitations set to his asking, as made his suit as unprofitable unto him, as that he asked it for, was unserviceable to the King, and indeed did make the *English* beleeve as little the truth of that story, as the *Scots* themselves did, and yet on my conscience the good Gentleman did in that as a Lyer often doth, by telling a Lye often, beleeveth it to be a very truth; but the truth was, (although he was not a man capa-

ble

ble of much himſelfe) yet had it been true; there was too little done for him, being not true, too much; for, being an Earle, he was in very little eſteeme, either with his Maſter, or with the better ſort of Courtiers. And I pray God that the effects of thoſe Sermons in the Fathers time for that ſervice, cauſe no ill effects, or be not one cauſe of Gods anger towards us in the Sons reigne.

This Sir *George Hewme* being the only man that was the Guider of the King, and his affaires, all the wiſer ſort of *Engliſh* made their addreſſes unto him, amongſt thoſe Sir *Robert Cicill*, a very wiſe man, but much hated in *England*, by reaſon of the freſh bleeding of that univerſally beloved Earle of *Eſſex*, and for that, was clouded alſo in the Kings favour; he came to *Yorke*, but lay cloſe, unſeen, or ſcarce knowne to be in the City, untill he knew what entertainment he ſhould receive

Sir *Robert Cicill* a favourite.

ceive from the King; for he was in his owne, and all mens opinions, so under the Hatches, as not ever to appeare above board againe (nor did any of the Countre-faction to *Essex* besides himselfe, ever attaine to the Kings favour;) but those friends raised by his wit, and purse, did so co-operate (of which Sir *Roger Aston*, that plaine man was principall, for which he lost not his labour) that Sir *George Hewme*, and Sir *Robert Cicill* had many secret meetings, and did so comply, that Sir *Robert Cicill*, to the admiration of all, did appeare, and come out of his Chamber like a Giant, to run his race, for Honour, and Fortune, and who in such dearnesse, and privacy with the King as Sir *Robert Cicill*! as if he had been his faithfull Servant many yeares before; yet did not either his Friends, wit, or wealth, raise him so much (as some beleeve) as the ill offices done by him to this Nation, in discovering the

the nature of the people, and ſhewing the King the way, how to enhance his Prerogative ſo above the Lawes, that he might inſlave the Nation, which though it took well then, yet it hath been of ſad and dangerous conſequence in after times:

For firſt, He cauſed a whole Cart-load of Parliament Preſidents (that ſpake the Subjects Liberty) to be burnt:

Next, raiſing two hundred thouſand pound for making two hundred Baronets, telling the King he ſhould finde his *Engliſh* Subjects like Aſſes, on whom he might lay any burthen, and ſhould need neither Bit, nor Bridle, but their Aſſes eares; And when the King ſaid, It would diſcontent the generality of the Gentry: He replyed, Tuſh Sir, you want the money, that will doe you good, the Honour will doe them very little; And by theſe courſes he raiſed himſelfe, friends, and family,

mily, to Offices, Honours, and great Poſſeſſions; Yet as a puniſhment, he lived long enough to have loſt all, had not Death prevented him between the *Bath* and *London*: For the Duke of *Buckin* being then here, (about the overture of that unfortunate Match betweene the Palſgrave, and the Lady *Elizabeth*) had ſo done his errand, and diſcovered his juggling; It is moſt certaine, he had been ſtript of all at his returne, which he well underſtanding from his Friends at Court, did expedite his end; but he dyed opportunely to ſave his honour, and his eſtate for his poſterity, though to leave a marke of ignominy on himſelfe by that *Herodian* diſeaſe, and that for all his great Honours, and Poſſeſſions, and ſtately Houſes, he found no place but the top of a Mole-hill, neare *Marleborough* to end his miſerable life; ſo that it may be ſaid of him, and truly, he dyed of a moſt loathſome diſeaſe, and remarkable,

with-

without houſe, without pitty, without the favour of that Maſter that had raiſed him to ſo high an eſtate; and yet muſt he have this right done him (which is alſo a note of the misfortune of our times) there hath not been any ſince his time that equalled him, to fulfill the Proverbe, *Seldome comes a better*; he had great parts, was very wiſe, full of honour, and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of Virtue, and able parts in others, ſo they did not appeare too high in place, or looke too narrowly into his actions.

The next that came on the publick Theatre in favour, was *Henry Howard*, a younger Son of the Duke of *Norfolke*, and Lord *Thomas Howard*, the one after Earle of *Northampton*, the other Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord Chamberlaine, and after Lord Treaſurer, who by *Salisburies* greatneſſe with that Family, rather then by any merit, or wiſdome in themſelves, raiſed many great Families

milies of his Children: *Northampton* though a great Clerke, yet not a wise man, but the grossest Flatterer of the World; and as *Salisbury* by his Wit, so this by his Flattery, raised himselfe; yet one great motive to the raising all of that Name of *Howards* was, the Duke of *Norfolke*, suffering for the Queene of *Scots*, the Kings Mother, yet did *Suffolke* so farre get the start of *Northampton*, that *Northampton* never after loved him but from the teeth outwards, only had so much discretion as not to fall to actuall enmity, to the over-throw of both, and the weakning that faction; *Suffolk* also using him with all submissive respect, not for any love, but hope of gaining his great estate, and sharing it amongst his Children; but *Northamptons* distaste was such, by his losse of the Treasurers place, which he had with such assurance promised to himselfe in his thoughts, that except what he gave to Master Henry Ho-

Howard, the rest he gave to the Earl of Arundell, who by his observance, but more especially by giving Northampton all his Estate if he never returned from travell, had wrought himselfe so far into his affections, that he doted on him.

And now the principall managers of the English affaires were Salisbury, Suffolke, Northampton, Buckhurst, Egerton Lord Keeper, Worcester, and the Old Admirall; For the Scots, Sir George Hewme, now Earle of Dunbar, Secretary Elfeston, after Earle of Balmerino, and as wise a man as was in England, or Scotland, the Lord of Kinloss, a very honest, but weak man.

You are now to observe, that Salisbury had shaken off all that were great with him, and of his Faction in Queene Elizabeths dayes, as Sir Walter Rawleigh, Sir George Caven, the Lord Grey, the Lord Cobham: the three first, very able men as the world had, the last, but one degree

from

from a foole, yet ſerved their turnes better then a wiſer man, by his greatneſſe with the Queen, for they would put him on any thing, and make him tell any Lye, with as great confidence as a truth. Three of theſe were utterly ruined, as you ſhall heare in the following Diſcourſe, the fourth being a very wiſe man, contented himſelfe with a meane place, that was worthy of a much greater; and although very active formerly, called to minde this ſaying: *Fœlix quem faciunt, &c.* and medled with no State buſineſſe, his wiſdome fore-telling his Fate, if he had done otherwiſe; for he did ſee one better head-peece then his owne, ſit tottering at that time, and fell off afterwards, which made him think it was good ſleeping in a whole skin.

The King no ſooner came to *London*, but notice was taken of a riſing Favourite, the firſt Meteor of that nature appearing in our climate;

mate; as the King cast his eye upon him for affection, so did all the Courtiers, to adore him, his name was Mr. *James* Hay, a Gentleman that lived long in *France*, and some say, of the *Scottish* Guard to that King; this Gentleman comming over to meet the King, and share with him in his new Conquest (according to the *Scots* phrase) it should seeme had some former acquaintance with the then Leiger Embassadour in *Scotland* for the *French* King, who comming with his Majesty into *England*, presented this Gentleman (as a well accomplished Gentleman) to the King, in such an high commendation as engendered a liking that produced a favourite; in thankfull acknowledgement whereof, he did him many faire offices for the present, and comming afterwards an extraordinary Embassadour to our King, made him the most sumptuous Feast at *Essex* house, that ever was seene

Mr. *James* Hay a Favourite.

His rise.

His sumptuous feast.

before, never equalled since, in which was such plenty (and fish of that immensity brought out of *Muscovia*) that Dishes were made to containe them (no Dishes in all *England* before could neare hold them) and after that, a costly Voydee, and after that, a Maske of choyse Noble-men; and Gentlemen, and after that, a most costly and magnificent Banquet, the King, Lords, and all the prime Gentlemen then about *London* being invited thither. Truly, he was a most compleat, and well accomplished Gentleman, modest, and Court-like, and of so faire a demeanour, as made him be generally beloved; and for his wisdome, I shall give you but one character for all: Hee was ever great with all the Favourites of his time, and although the King did often change, yet he was *semper idem* with the King, and Favourites, and got by both; for although Favourites had that exorbi-

His accomplishment.

tant

tant power over the King, to make him grace, and disgrace whom they pleased; yet he was out of their power, and the only exception to that generall rule; and for his gettings, it was more then almost all the Favourites of his time, which appeared in those vast expences of all sorts, and had not the bounty of his minde exceeded his gettings, he might have left the greatest estate that ever our age or climate had heard of; he was indeed made for a Courtier, who wholly studied his Master, and understood him better then any other.

He was imployed in very many of the most weighty Affaires, and sent with the most stately Embassies of our times, which he performed with that wisdome, and magnificence, that he seemed an honour to his King and Country. For his carriage in State-affaires, he was termed by some Princes the Kings Juggler. He married the Daughter

and Heire of the Lord *Denny*, after the Earl of *Northumberlands* daughter, and was hated of none that ever I heard of, but the Earle of *Northampton*, who had no patience to see him, being himselfe of so venemous and cankred a disposition, that indeed he hated all men of noble parts, nor loved any but Flatterers like himselfe; yet it was a great question, whether he hated the Earl of *Carliſle*, or Sir *Robert Mansell* most, by whom he hath been heard to say; *Body of God, I will be content to be damned perpetually in Hell, to be revenged of that proud Welshman*; and did so hate him, that he kept an Inquisition on him seven yeares, to prove that he had cousened the King of fourteen thousand pounds, which at the seven yeares end at an hearing before the King, the Lords, the Queen, and all the Ladies being present, with all the gallantry of the Court, ended in one paire of silke Stockins, given by one for a

New-

New-yeares Gift to Master *Wels*, Sir *Robert Mansells* Servant; at which, the King stood up and sware very deeply; *Doe you beleeve I will take a paire of silke Stockins for my fourteen thousand pounds? give me that, give me that; is this all the fruit of seven yeares Commission?* at which words Sir *Robert Mansell* kneeled downe, and said, *I will now Sir take all the faults they can charge my servant with, upon my selfe*; at which the King was very angry, that so noble a Gentleman, who had so wel acquitted himselfe, and Honour, should intrust it in the keeping of a Servant; at the end of all, the Earle of *Salisbury* kneeled down, and said; *Sir, if you will suffer malice so farre to prevaile, as to have your honest Servants traduced, to satisfie the humours of any, I beseech you take my staffe, for were my selfe, and the Earl of* Worcester *here present, put in the ballance against Sir* Robert Mansell, *we should prove too light; I am in a great Place,*

and cannot say, but by my selfe, or servants, I may faile, yet not with our own wils; therefore Sir, if you will suffer such inquisitions, there will be no serving your Majesty, in such places as I hold, by your Majesties favour; thus ended the Earle of *Northamptons* malice, which only served to honour Sir *Robert Mansell*, and make a scorne of himselfe, and this only to make the venome of this Monster appear, who did flatter the King, and dissemble with God.

And now begin Embassadours to appeare from divers Princes, the principall were, *Roney* Duke of *Sullice*, from the *French* King; the Constable of *Castile* from the *Spanish* King, the Count *Arremberg* from the Arch Duke; the former came to congratulate only, and desired the confirmation of the ancient amity betwixt the two Crownes; the latter two about the establishing a firme peace betwixt these two King-

Kingdomes, that had lived in perpetuall Warre, and hatred of each other, by which it might appeare where the advantage of such a peace would fall, by those that sought, or rather bought it with an infinite masse of treasure, prodigally cast about the *English* Court.

To bring these Embassadours over, were appointed Sir *Robert Mansell*, being Admirall of the narrow Seas, and Sir *Jerome Turner* his Vice-Admirall, the first commanded to attend at *Graveling* for the *Spanish* Embassadour, the latter at *Calis* for the *French*; but the *French* comming first, and hearing the Vice-Admirall was to attend him, the Admirall the other; in a scorne put himselfe in a Passage-boat of *Calis*, came forth with flagge in top; instantly Sir *Jerome Turner* sent to know of the Admirall what he should doe; Sir *Robert Mansell* sent him word, to shoot, and sinke him, if he would not take in the

flag; this as it made the flag bee pulled in, so a great complaint, and 'twas beleeved it would have undone Sir *Robert Marsell*, the *French* Faction pressing it so home: but he maintained the act, and was the better beloved of his Master ever after, to his dying day.

This makes it appeare how jealous old Commanders were of their owne honour, and of their Masters, and Kingdomes honours, which since hath been so prodigally wasted, as we are utterly bankerupt, having spent our old Stock, and have not bravery enough to erect a new.

The Constable of *Castile* so plyed his Masters businesse (in which he spared for no cost) that he procured a peace so advantageous for *Spaine*, and so disadvantageous for *England*, that it and all Christendome have since both seen and felt the lamentable effects thereof. There was not one Courtier of note, that tasted not of *Spaines* bounty,

bounty, either in Gold, or Jewels and among them, not any in so large a proportion as the Countesse of *Suffolke*, who shared in her Lords intereſt, being then a potent man, and in that intereſt which ſhe had, in being Miſtris to that little great Secretary (little in body and ſtature, but great in wit and policy) the ſole manager of State affaires; ſo it may be ſaid, ſhe was a double ſharer, and in truth *Audley-end*, that famous and great ſtructure, had its foundation of *Spaniſh* Gold.

The King was a peaceable and merciful Prince; yet God (for ſome ſecret intent beſt known to himſelf) laid the foundation of his reigne, with the greateſt mortality ever before heard of in this Kingdome, by a fearefull Plague, and ſome by that judged what his future reign would be, yet their wiſdomes failed, for he was a King of mercy as well as peace, never cruell, yet ſurely it had ſome morall. A great Plague.

He

He was forced by that contagion to leave the Metropolis, and goe into a by corner in *Wiltshire*, *Wilton* the Earle of *Pembrookes* House, in which time of his abode there, a kinde of Treason brake forth, but what it was, as no man could then tell, so it is left with so dark a Comment, that posterity will never understand the Text, or remember any such treason; it is true, some lost their lives, yet the world was never satisfied of the justice, and one of them, (and that the only marke of Tyranny upon this good Kings reigne) executed many yeares after without all president, and on my conscience without any just cause, and even against that good Kings will, who in many things was overawed by his timorous dispostion.

But the *Spanish* Faction, and *Spanish* Gold betrayed his life, as they had done the Kingdome before, and I beleeve it was one of the greatest Master-peeces of that Embassadour

dour, to purchase *Rawleighs* head, yet had not *Bristol* co-operated, the King would never have consented, and it may be he had his secret ends, fearing his wisdome might once againe have raised him, to have looked over *Sherborne* Castle, once his owne, and how unjustly taken from him God will one day judge; I know not whether there be a curse on those that are owners of it, as Fables report, but I am confident there is a curse on *Bristol* for taking away his life; I will not take upon me too farre to pry into Gods Arke, yet what is like to befall him, and hath already, his Son (as hopefull a Gentleman as any in the Kingdome) may give some token of Gods anger against him and his family.

A narration of the Treason charged on *Rawleigh*.

But because I will not leave you altogether blinde-folded, I shall as neare as I can lead you to the discovery of this Treason, which consisted of Protestants, Puritans, Papists, and of an Atheist: a strange med-

medley you will say, to meet in one and the same Treason, and keepe counsell, which surely they did, because they knew not of any; the Protestants were the Lord *Cobham*, and *George Brook* his Brother, the one very learned and wise, the other a most silly Lord, the Puritan the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, a very hopefull Gentleman, blasted in the very Bud; the Papists *Watson*, and *Clarke*, Priests; and *Parham* a Gentleman, the Atheist Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, then generally so beleeved, though after brought by affliction (the best School-Mistris) to be, and so dyed, a most religious Gentleman. This Treason was compounded of strange ingredients (and more strange then true) it was very true, most of these were discontented, to see *Salisbury* their old friend so high, to trample on them, that before had been his chiefe supporters, and (being ever of his faction) now neglected and contemned: it was then beleeved an

errand

errand trick of State to over-throw some, and disable others, knowing their strong abilities might otherwise live to over-throw *Salisbury*, for they were intimate in all his secret Councels for the ruine of *Essex*, especially *Rawleigh*, *Grey*, and *Cobham*; though the latter was a foole, yet had been very usefull to them (as the Toole in the hand of the Workman) and to have singled out these without some Priests, which were Traytors by the Law, had smelt too ranke, and appeared too poore and plaine a tricke of State; and *Salisbury* in this had a double benefit: First, in ridding himselfe of such as he feared would have been thornes in his sides. Secondly, by endearing himselfe to the King, by shewing his diligence, and vigilancy for his safety; so that it might be said of him as of *Cæsar* in another case (*Inveniam aut faciam*) I will either finde out a Treason or make one, and this had been

a

a pretty trick had it been only to disgrace, without taking away life; but how this peece of policy may stand with Religion, I feare by this time he too well understands; and this plot as neare as I can tell you (and I dare say my intelligence gave me as neare a guesse as ever any man had) was, that all these in a discontented humour had by *Watson*, and *Clarke*, being Confessors, dealt with Count *Aremberge*, the Arch Dukes Embassadour, to negotiate with the Arch Duke to raise an Army, and invade *England*, and they would raise another of Papists, and Malecontents to joyne: for you must understand the King was beleeved an errand Puritan, (*Cujus contrarium verum est*) how likely this Plot was, let the world judge, that the King of *Spaine*, who had bought peace at so deare a rate, and found it so advantageous to him, by the lamentable experience he had formerly in the Wars with this formidable State,

should

should seek to breake it so soone: and had it been a reall Treason, the State had been bound to have rewarded these Traytors, as the best peece of service done in *England* all that Kings reigne (it was indeed those that made the Peace, not those that endeavoured the breaking of it, were the Traytors, and are to be cursed by all Posterity) yet this foolish Plot served well enough to take some blocks out of the way, that might afterward have made some of them stumble, to the breaking of their owne necks.

They were all Arraigned of Treason at *Winchester*, whither the King having sent some secretly to observe all passages, upon whose true and faithfull relations of the innocencies of the Persons Arraigned, and the sleight proofes, upon which they were condemned: he would not be drawne to signe any Warrant for the execution of *Rauleigh*, *Cobham*, and *Grey*, very hardly for any of the

the reſt, the two Prieſts excepted.

For *Rawleighs* defence, it was ſo brave and juſt, as (had he not wilfully caſt himſelfe, out of very wearineſſe, as unwilling to detaine the company longer) no Jury could ever have caſt him; all the Evidence brought againſt him was *Cobhams* Accuſation, which he only deſired might appeare (*viva voce*) and he would yeeld without further defence, but that they knew ful well *Cobham* would not, nor could not accuſe him, having been tampered with by *Wade*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Salisburies* great Creature; *Wade* deſired it under his hand, that alſo he refuſed, at laſt *Wade* got a trick by his cunning, to ſurprize *Cobhams* weakneſſe, to get him write his name to a Blank, to which, *Wade*, no queſtion, wrote the accuſation, as will appeare hereafter; for *Salisbury* urging *Rawleigh* often, if *Cobham* had accuſed him under his hand, would he

he then yeeld? *Rawleigh* replyed, He knew *Cobham* weake of judgement, and did not know how that weakneſſe might be wrought upon, but was confident he would not to his face accuſe him, and therefore would not put his life, fortune, and all on that; at which fence he ſtood til nine at night: at laſt his fate carried him againſt his reaſon, and he yeelded upon the producing his hand, which was inſtantly pulled out, and was in truth his hand, but not his act, or deed: ſo at that preſent was *George Brooke*, *Watſon*, and *Clarke* executed, *Parham* acquitted, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* executed many yeares after for the ſame treaſon, as much againſt all juſtice, as beyond all reaſon, or any preſident: yea after he had been a Generall by the Kings Commiſſion, and had by that, power of the Lives of many others, utterly againſt the Civill Law, which ſaith, *He that hath power of the Lives of others, ought to be Maſter*

ster of his owne. But the *Spaniard* was so powerfull at that time in Court, as that Faction could command the life of any man that might prove dangerous to his designes; *Grey* and *Cobham* dyed in their restraint, the one much pittied, the other scorned, and his death as base, for hee dyed lousie for want of Apparrell, and Linnen; and had starved, had not a Trencher-scraper, sometime his Servant in Court, releived him with scraps, in whose house he dyed, being so poore a house as he was forced to creep up a Ladder into a little hole to his Chamber; which was a strange judgement, and unpresidented, that a man of seven thousand pounds *per annum*, and of a personall estate of thirty thousand pounds, of all which the King was so cheated of what should have Escheated to him, that he could not give him any maintenance, as in all cases the King doth, unlesse out of his owne Revenue of the Crown,

which

which was the occasion of this Lords want, (his Wife being very rich, would not give him the crums that fell from her Table;) and this was a just judgement of God on him.

And now, because it will be pertinent in this place to let you understand, that *Rawleigh* had his life surrepticiously taken away, I shall give you a true story.

Queen *Anne*, that brave Princesse, was in a desperate (and some beleeved an incurable) Disease, whereof the Phisitians were at the furthest end of their studies to finde the cause, at a *Non-plus* for the Cure; Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, being by his long studies an admirable Chymist, undertooke, and performed the Cure, for which he would receive no other reward, but that her Majesty would procure that certaine Lords might be sent to examine *Cobham*, whether he had accused Sir *Walter Rawleigh* of Treason at

any time under his hand; the King, at the Queens request (and in Justice could doe no lesse) sends six Lords, (which I take were, the Duke of *Leonox*, *Salisbury*, *Worcester*, *Suffolke*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Julius Cæsar*) to demand of *Cobham*, whether he had not under his hand accused Sir *Walter Rawleigh* at *Winchester*, upon that Treason he was Arraigned for; *Cobham* did protest, never, nor could he; but, said he, That Villaine *Wade* did often solicite me, and not prevailing that way, got me by a trick to write my name upon a peece of white Paper; which I, thinking nothing, did, so that if any Charge came under my hand, it was forged by that Villaine *Wade*, by writing something above my hand without my consent or knowledge. These six returning to the King, the rest made *Salisbury* their Spokes man, who said, Sir, my Lord *Cobham* hath made good all that ever hee wrote, or said.

Where

Where it is to be noted, that this was but an equivocating tricke in *Salisbury*; for it was true, that *Cobham* had made good whatever hee had writ (that being but in truth to very nothing) but never wrote he any thing to accuse *Rawleigh*; by which you may see the baseneſſe of theſe Lords, the credulity of the King, and the ruine of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. I appeale now to the judgement of all the world, whether theſe ſix Lords were not the immediate Murtherers of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and no queſtion ſhall be called to a ſad account for it.

And thus have you a true relation of the Treaſon, and Traytors, with all the windings and turnings in it, and all paſſages appertaining to it; and by it you may ſee the ſlavery theſe great men were inſlaved in by *Salisbury*, that none durſt teſtifie ſuch a truth, as the not teſtifying, loſt their moſt precious Soules.

And now doth the King returne to *Windſor*, where there was only an apparition of *Southamptons* being a Favourite to his Majeſty, by that privacy and dearneſſe was preſented to the Court-view; but *Salisbury* (liking not that any of *Eſſex* his faction ſhould come into play) made that apparition appeare as it were in *tranſitu*, and ſo vaniſhed, by putting ſome jealouſies into the Kings head, who was ſo farre from jealouſie, that he did not much deſire to be in his Queenes company, yet love and regality muſt admit of no partnerſhip.

Then was there in requitall of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours, two ſtately Embaſſies addreſſed, the one to *Spaine*, the other to the Arch Duke, to have that peace they ſo dearly purchaſed confirmed, and ſworne to by ours, as formerly by them; the old Lord Admirall was ſent to *Spaine*, the Earle of *Hartford* for *Bruxels*, that the Duke of *Leonox* might

might have the better opportunity. The *Spaniard* was astonied at the braveneſſe of our Embaſſie, and the handſome Gentlemen (in both which, few Embaſſies ever equalled this) for you muſt underſtand the Ieſuites reported our Nation to be ugly, and like Devils, as a puniſhment ſent to our Nation for caſting off the Popes ſupremacy; and they pictured Sir *Francis Drake* generally halfe a Man, halfe a Dragon; When they beheld them after the ſhape of Angels, they could not well tell whether to truſt their own eyes, or their Confeſſors reports, yet they then appeared to them, as to all the world, monſtrous Lyers.

The Embaſſadour had his reception with as much ſtate, as his entertainment with bounty, the King defraying all charges, and they were detained at their Landing longer then ordinary, to have proviſions prepared in their paſſage to *Madrid*, with all the bounty was poſſible, to

make the whole Country appeare a Land of *Canaan*, which was in truth, but a Wildernesse.

In their abode there, although they gave them Roast-meat, yet they beat them with the spits, by reporting that the *English* did steale all the Plate, when in truth it was themselves, who thought to make Hay while the Sunne shined, not thinking ever more to come to such a Feast, to fill their purses as wel as their bellyes, (for food and coyne are equally alike scarce with that Nation) this report passed for currant, to the infinite dishonour of our Nation, there being at that time the prime gallantry of our Nation.

Sir *Robert Mansell*, who was a man borne to vindicate the Honour of his Nation, as of his owne, being Vice-Admirall, and a man on whom the old Admirall wholly relyed, having dispatched the Ships to be gone the next morning, came in very

very late to Supper; Sir *Richard Leviſon* ſitting at the upper end of the Table amongſt the Grandees, the Admirall himſelfe not ſupping that night, being upon the diſpatch of Letters, the Table upon Sir *Robert Manſells* entrance offered to riſe, to give him place: But he ſat down inſtantly at the lower end, and would not let any man ſtirre, and falling to his meat, did eſpy a *Spaniard*, as the Diſhes emptied, ever putting ſome in his boſome, ſome in his breeches, that they both ſtrutted: Sir *Robert Manſell* ſent a Meſſage to the upper end of the table to Sir *Richard Leviſon* to be delivered in his eare, that whatſoever he ſaw him doe, he ſhould deſire the Gentlemen and Grandees to ſit quiet, for there ſhould be no cauſe of any diſquiet; on the ſudden, Sir *Robert Manſell* ſteps up, takes this *Spaniard* in his armes, (at which the table began to riſe; Sir *Richard Leviſon* quiets them,) brings him

him up to the end amongſt the Grandees, then pulls out the Plate from his boſome, breeches, and every part about him, which did ſo amaze the *Spaniard*, and vindicate that aſperſion caſt on our Nation, that never after was there any ſuch ſyllable heard, but all honour done to the Nation, and all thanks to him in particular.

From thence, next day they went for *Madrid*, where all the royall entertainment *Spain* could yeeld was given them, and at the end of the Grand entertainment and Revells, which held moſt part of the night, as they were all returning to their Lodgings, the ſtreet being made light by white Wax lights, and the very night forced into a day, by ſhining light, as they were paſſing in the ſtreet, a *Spaniard* catcheth off Sir *Robert Manſells* Hat, with a very rich jewell in it, and away he flyes; Sir *Robert* not being of a ſpirit to have any thing violently taken

ken from him, nor of ſuch a Court-like complement, to part with a jewell of that price, to one no better acquainted with him, hurls open the Boote, followes after the fellow, and ſome three Gentlemen did follow him, to ſecure him, houſeth the Fellow in the houſe of an Allagozy, which is a great Officer, or Judge in *Spaine*; this Officer wondering at the manner of their comming, the one without his hat and ſword in his hand, the other with all their ſwords; Demands the cauſe, They tell him; He ſaith, ſurely none can think his houſe a ſanctuary, who is to puniſh ſuch offenders.

But Sir *Robert Manſell* would not be ſo put off with his *Spaniſh* gravity, but enters the Houſe, leaving two at the Gate, to ſee that none ſhould come out whiles he ſearched; A long while they could finde nothing, and the Allagozy urging this as an affront, at laſt, looking down

downe into a Wel of a ſmal depth, he ſaw the fellow ſtand up to the neck in Water: Sir *Robert Manſell* ſeized on his Hat, and Jewell, leaving the fellow to the Allagozy, but he had much rather have fingered the Jewell, aud in his gravity told Sir *Robert Manſell*, hee could not have it without forme of Law, which Sir *Robert* diſpenſed with, carrying away his Hat, and Jewell, and never heard further of the buſineſſe; now the truth was, this fellow knew his Burrough well enough, as well as ſome Theeves of our Nation, after they have done a Robbery, would put themſelves into a Priſon of their acquaintance, aſſuring themſelves none would ſearch there, or rather as our Recorders of *London*, whoſe cheif revenue for themſelves, and ſervants, is from Theeves, Whores, and Bawds, therefore this ſtory cannot ſeeme ſtrange in *England*.

The other Embaſſadour ſent to the

the Arch Duke, was, the old Earle of *Hertford*, who was conveyed over in one of the Kings Ships, by Sir *William Munſon*, in whoſe paſſage a *Dutch* Man of Warre comming by that ſhip, would not vaile, as the manner was, acknowledging by that, our Soveraignty over the Sea, Sir *William Munſon* gave him a ſhot to inſtruct him in manners, but inſtead of learning, he taught him by returning another, he acknowledged no ſuch Soveraignty; this was the very firſt indignity and affront ever offered to the Royall Ships of *England*, which ſince have beene moſt frequent; Sir *William Monſon* deſired my Lord of *Hertford* to goe into the Hold, and hee would inſtruct him by ſtripes, that refuſed to be taught by faire meanes; but the Earl charged him on his Allegiance firſt to land him, on whom he was appointed to attend; ſo to his great regret, he was forced to endure that indignity, for which I have often heard

heard him wish he had been hanged, rather then live that unfortunate Commander of K. Kings Ship, to be Chronicled for the first that ever endured that affront, although it was not in his power to have helped it; yet by his favour, it appeared but a copy of his countenance, for it had been but hazarding hanging to have disobeyed my Lords Commandement, and it had been infinite odds he had not beene hanged, having to friend him, the House of *Suffolke*; nor would hee have been so sensible of it, had he not been of the *Spanish* Faction, and that a *Dutch* ship.

Now did those great Mannagers of the State (of which *Salisbury* was chief) after they had packed the Cards begin to deale the government of the Kingdome amongst themselves, and perswaded the King to leave the State affaires to them, and to betake himselfe to some Country recreations, which they found

found him addicted unto, for the City, and husinesse, did not agree with him; to that end purchased, built, and repaired at *New-Market*, and *Royston*, and this pleased the Kings humour well, rather that he might enjoy his Favourite with more privacy, then that he loved the sports; then must *Theobolds* be in his owne possession, as not fit for a King to be beholding to a Subject for an House of daily use, but because the King had so much want of monies (to expresse his love, and bounty to his Native Nation) *Salisbury* would exchange, and take Land for his House, and Parke; in which exchange, he made such an advantage, that he sold his House for fifty yeares purchase, and that so cunningly, as hardly to be discerned, but by a curious sight, for he fleeted off the Creame of the Kings Mannours in many Counties, not any two lying in any one County, and made choyce of the most in the remo-

remoteſt Counties, onely built his neſt at *Hatfield*, within the County where his Father had built his, yet kept he ſtill the houſe of *Theobalds*, for he and his poſterity were to be perpetuall Keepers of that Houſe, and many Parkes adjacent; by this he not onely ſhewed his wiſdome for his owne benefit, but to the world what the Kings naturall diſpoſition was, to bee eaſily abuſed, and would take counterfeit Coyn for currant payment.

And to fit the Kings humour, and diſſolve him in that delight he was moſt addicted to, as well as to ſerve *Salisburies* owne ends, and ſatisfie his revenge upon ſome neighbour Gentlemen, that formerly would not ſell him ſome convenient parcels of Land neighbouring on *Theobalds*, he puts the King on enlarging the Parke, walling, and ſtoring it with red Deere; and I dare affirme, with that worke the King was ſo well pleaſed, and did more

more glory in, then his Predeceſſors did in the conqueſt of *France*; and as it was moſt true, ſo an ill Omen, that the King loved Beaſts better then Men, and took more delight in them, and was more tender over the life of a Stag then of a Man; yet this was the weakneſſe of his judgement, and pooteneſſe of his Spirit, rather then any innate cruelty, for he was not naturally cruel over lives, though in diſplacing Officers, which naturally he did beleeve, was as glorious, as to overthrow, and conquer Kings.

But yet for all their ſetting their Cards, and playing their Games to their owne advantages, of getting much for themſelves, and friends, there was one Knave in the Packe, would croſſe their deſigns, and Trump in their way, if he might not ſhare with them in their winning; that was one *Lake*, a Clerke of the Signet, after, Secretary, and after that turned out in diſgrace;

and in truth, was onely wise in the worlds opinion, could swim being held up by the chin; but at his fall all his weaknesses were discovered: and that the world had been deceived in him, I will instance in one particular amongst many, that shall give you full assurance; being in disgrace, he gave two thousand pounds but to kisse the Kings hand, beleeving that after that, he might have accesse as formerly; after he had paid his money, he was never suffered to see the King more, only jeered at by all the Court for his folly, and went sneaking up and downe contemned of all men.

This *Lake* was a fellow of meane birth, and meaner breeding, being an under Servant to make Fires in Secretary *Walsinghams* chamber, and there got some experience, which afterwards in the Kings time made him appeare an able man, which in the Queenes time, when there was none in Court but men of eminencies,

cies, made him an inconsiderable Fellow. He had linked himselfe in with the *Scotish* Nation, progging for Suits, and helping them to fill their Purses; as they did beleeve, there was not so able a man in the Kingdome (for in truth ever since Queene *Elizabeths* death, the raysing money hath been the only way to raise men, as being held the essentiall property of a wise man, to know how to bring in money (*per fas aut nefas*) and amongst all the *Scots*, he wholly applyed himselfe to those of the Bed-chamber, and of neerest accesse to his Majesty.

For his good service of abusing his Country, and Country-men, he was made Clerke of the Signet, to waite on the King in his Hunting journies, and in these journies got all the Bils signed, even for the greatest Lords (all Packets being addressed to him) so that even *Salisbury*, and *Northampton*, and the greatest Lords made Court to him;

by this meanes did he raise himselfe from a meane to a great fortune, but so over-awed by his Wife, that if hee did not what she commanded, she would beate him, and in truth his Wife was afterwards his over-throw; besides, he would tell Tales, and let the King know the passages of Court, and great men, as who was *Salisburies* Mistris, and governed all; who governed *Northampton*, and discovered their Bawdery, which did infinitely please the Kings humour: and in truth had so much craft, as he served his turne upon all, but was ingrossed by none but by the Bed-chamber, who stuck so close to him, that they could not yet remove him. And now doe the *English* Faction (seeing they could not sever the *Scots* from him) endeavour to raise a mutiny against the *Scots* that were his supporters, their Agents divulging every where, the *Scots* would get all, and would begger the Kingdom; the *Scots* on

the

the other ſide complaine to the King, they were ſo poore, they under-went the by-word of beggerly *Scots*; to which the King returned this anſwer (as he had a very ready wit) Content your ſelves, I will ſhortly make the *Engliſh* as beggerly as you, and ſo end that controverſie; this is as true as he truly performed it, for however he enriched many in particular, as *Salisbury, Suffolke, Northampton, Worceſter, Lake*, &c. yet he did begger himſelf, and the Nation in generall.

This alſo was inculcated into the eares of the Parliament, when that great buſineſſe about the union was in debate, which was much croſſed by that opinion; if they had already impoveriſhed the kingdome, by the union, they would bankerupt it. But ſince, you ſee by their owne valour and bravery of ſpirit, they have made us begge a re-union with them, and for ought we ſee, all our happines is derived from their favours.

They that then lived at Court, and were curious observers of every mans actions, could have affirmed, that *Salisbury*, *Suffolke*, and *Northampton*, and their friends did get more then the whole Nation of *Scotland* (*Dunbar* excepted) for whatever others got, they spent here, only *Dunbar* laid a foundation of a great Family, which did all revert into *England* againe, with his Daughters marriage with the House of *Suffolke*, so in truth, all the water run to their Mills.

It is most true, that many *Scots* did get much, but not more with one hand, then they spent with the other, witnesse the Earle of *Kelly*, *Annandale*, &c. nay, that great Getter, the Earle of *Carlisle* also, and some private Gentlemen; as *Gideon Murrey*, *John Achmoty*, *James Baily*, *John Gib*, and *Bernard Lindley*, got some pretty estates, not worthy either the naming or envying, that old Servants should get some moderate

derate estates to leave to posterity.

But these, and all the *Scots* in generall, got scarce the Tythe of those *English* Getters, that can be said did stick by them, or their posterity; besides, *Salisbury* had one tricke to get the kernell, and leave the *Scots* but the shell, yet cast all the envie on them; He would make them buy Bookes of Fee-farmes, some one hundred pounds *per annum*, some five hundred Markes, and he would compound with them for a thousand pounds, which they were willing to embrace, because they were sure to have them passe without any controle, or charge, and one thousand pounds appeared to them that never saw ten pounds before, an inexhaustible treasure; then would *Salisbury* fill up this Booke with such prime Land, as should be worth ten or twenty thousand pounds, which was safe for him, being Treasurer, so to doe; and by this meanes *Salisbury* inriched him-

selfe infinitely; yet cast the envie on the *Scots*, in whose names these Bookes appeared, and are still upon Record to all posterity; though *Salisbury* had the Honey, they poore Gentlemen but part of the Wax; *Dunbar* only had his Agents, and could play his owne game, which they durst not crosse; so was the poore King and State cheated on allhands.

And now did a contention arise between the *English* and *Scots*, about the election of a Favourite, out of whether Nation he should come; now was *Montgomery* in the wane; being given more to his own pleasures, then to observe the King, so that alway the Earle of *Carlisle* did invest him in his roome; he as soon by his neglective carriage did devest himselfe, yet was he ever in the Kings good opinion, and one that he put more trust in at the time of his death, then in all his other servants.

Then

Then was there a young Gentleman, Master *Robert Carre*, who had his breeding in *France*, and was newly returned from Travaile, a Gentleman very handsome, and well bred, and one that was observed to spend his time in serious studies, and did accompany himselfe with none but men of such eminencies, as by whom hee might be bettered; this Gentleman, the *Scots* so wrought it, that they got him into a Groomes place of the Bed-chamber, and was very well pleasing to all; he did more then any other Associate himselfe, with Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a man of excellent parts, (but those made him proud, over-valuing himselfe, and under-valuing others, and was infected with a kinde of insolency) with this Gentleman spent he most of his time, and drew the eyes of the Court, as well as the affection of his Master upon him, yet very few, but such as were the curious observers of those times

Mr. *Carre* his rise.

times could discerne the drawing of the Kings affection, untill upon a Coronation day, riding in with the Lord *Dingwell* to the Tilt-yard, his horse fell with him, and brake his legge, he was instantly carried into Master *Riders* house at *Charing-crosse*, and the newes as instantly carried to the King, having little desire to behold the triumph, but much desired to have it ended, and no sooner ended, but the King went instantly to visite him, and after by his daily visiting, and mourning over him, taking all care for his speedy recovery, made the day-breake of his glory appeare, every Courtier now concluding him actually a favourite.

Lord! how the great men flocked then to see him, and to offer to his Shrine in such abundance, that the King was forced to lay a restraint, least it might retard his recovery by spending his spirits; and to facilitate the cure, care was taken for

for a choyce Dyet for himselfe, and Chirurgions, with his Attendants, and no sooner recovered but a proclaimed Favourite.

Then the *English* Lords, who formerly coveted an *English* Favourite (and to that end the Countesse of *Suffolke* did looke out choyce young men, whom she daily curled, and perfuming their breaths) left all hope, and she her curling and perfuming, all adoring this rising Sun, every man striving to invest himselfe into this mans favour (not sparing for bounty nor flattery) which was not hard to be obtained, being naturally more addicted to the *English* then to the *Scotch*, in so much that he endeavoured to forget his native Country, and his Fathers house, having none of note about him but *English*, and but one besides *English*, in any familiarity with him, which was Sir *Robert Carre* his Kinsman; but above all, was Sir *Thomas Overbury* his *Pythias*.

Then

Then was the ſtrife between *Salisbury* and *Suffolke*, who ſhould ingroſſe him, and make him their Monopoly; each preſenting, proffering, and accumulating favours upon *Overburyes* Kindred, the Father made a Iudge in *Wales*, and himſelfe offered Offices; but *Overbury*, naturally of an inſolent ſpirit, which was elevated by being ſo intimate with a Favourite, and wholly having ingroſſed that commodity, which could not be retayled, but by him and his favour; with a kind of ſcorn neglected their friendſhips, yet made uſe of both.

Mr. *Carre* Knighted.

Now was *Carre* Knighted, and made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and *Overburies* pride roſe with the others honours, ſtill ſcorning the Chapmen, as they did by their cheap offices undervalue ſo precious a commodity.

Northampton plot upon him.

Northampton finding himſelf neglected by ſo mean a fellow, caſt about another way, and followed

Balaams

Balaams councell, by sending a *Moabitish* Woman unto him, in which he made use of *Copinger* a Gentleman, who had spent a faire fortune left by his Ancestors, and now for maintenance, was forced to lead the life of a Serving-man (that formerly kept many to serve him) and as an addition, the worst of that kind, a flat Bawd.

This Gentleman had lived a scandalous life, by keeping a Whore of his own, which for the honour of her Family I will not name, therefore was fittest to trade in that commodity for another, and in truth was fit to take any impression baseneſſe could stamp on him, as the sequell of this story will manifest; This *Moabitish* woman, was a Daughter of the Earl of *Suffolk*, married to a young noble Gentleman the Earl of *Essex*.

This Train took, and the first private meetings were at *Copingers* house, and himselfe Bawd to their lust

lust, which put him into a far greater bravery for a time, then when he was master of his owne, but it had bitternesse on all hands in the end. This privacy in their stoln pleasures, made *Copinger* a friend to *Northampton*, and *Suffolk*, though but a Servant to Viscount *Rochester*, for so now was he called, and now had they linked him so close, as no breaking from them.

Overbury was that *John Baptist* that reprooved the Lord, for the sinne of using the Lady, and abusing the young Earle of *Essex*; would call her Strumpet, her mother and brother Bawds, and used them with so much scorne, as in truth was not to bee indured from a fellow of his Rank, to persons of that quality, how faulty soever otherwise they were.

Then to satisfie *Overbury*, and blot out the name of Sin, his love led him into a more desperate way by a resolution to marry another

man

mans wife, against this then did *Overbury* bellow lowder, and in it, shewed himselfe more like an affectionate, then a discreet & moderate friend: had he compounded but one dram of discretion with an ounce of affection, he might with such a receipt, have preserved his owne life, and their fortunes and honors.

For, those that infinitely hated that Family, did as infinitely condemn his insolent carriage and behaviour towards them; so that had any of those Brothers, or name, killed *Overbury*, either by picking a quarrell with him, or pistolling him, or any other desperate way, or bravely in a Duell, upon some other ground of a quarrell, then blemishing their Sister; the World would have justified the action, however he had stood with God; but *Buchanans* character of that Family bars all expectation of so much bravery of spirit; but a Counsell must be held to put him to death by some baser means. The

The plot against Overbury.

The Plot then must be, he must be sent a Leidger Embassadour into *France*; which by obeying, they should bee rid of so great an eyesore; by disobeying, he incurred the displeasure of his Prince; a contempt, that he could not expect lesse then imprisonment for, and by that means be sequestred from his friend.

And thus farI do beleeve the Earl of *Somerset*, (for so was hee now created) was consenting; this stratagem tooke, and *Overbury* might truly say *Video meliora, deteriora sequor*: for he indeed made the worst choyce; it could not be thought, but such an imployment was far above his desert, and much better for him to have accepted then to bee confined to a loathsome Prison, and for want of judgement, had his sufferings been lesse then losse of life he had not bin worthy of pity; but, *Jupiter quos vult perdere, hos dementat*; hee would to the Tower, from whence he never returned, rather then

then accept of an honourable imployment, from whence he might not only have returned, but done his friends acceptable ſervice, either in private, or publick.

In his managing of this buſineſſe, that wiſdome of his which formerly he had been eſteemed for, ſuffered under the cenſure of Wiſe men, as well as Fooles. Having him now faſt in Priſon; *Herodias* by pleaſing her *Herod* muſt alſo aske, and have his life; for, *per ſcelus ad ſcelera tutior eſt via.* To that end they preferred Empoyſoners to be ſervants to Sir *Gervaſe Elwayes* then Lieutenant of the Tower; The Gentleman was ever held wiſe, and honeſt, but unfortunate in having this place thruſt upon him without his thought; he was alſo ſo religious, that few in the Court did equall him; ſo wiſe, as he obtained the Character of wiſe Sir *Gervaſe Elwayes*, yet neither could his wiſdom, nor the opinion of his Religion and honeſty, prevent that

Fate, he was so ignorant of the plot, as he never did dreame of any such matter; untill one day (as it should seem) *Weston* being told, *Elwayes* did know wherefore he was preferred unto him, to waite on *Overbury*; he asked the Lieutenant one day before dinner whether he should now doe it, *Elwayes* asked him, what? *Weston* at that being somewhat abashed, *Elwayes* espying it, presently said, no not yet; for he did beleeve there was something knowne to *Weston*, which was a secret to himselfe. Whereupon, *Elwayes* could not chew any meat, for chewing upon those words of *Weston*, but instantly commanded his Table to be voyded, and thence he went into his Study, and sent for *Weston* to come unto him, examining him of the meaning of that question; at last by faire meanes, and threatning together, got the truth; then *Elwayes* (as he well could) laid before *Weston* the horridnesse of the Fact, the

the torments of Hell, and the unassurance of his momentary injoying of either reward or favour after the Fact done, but that it must follow so many Personages of Honour, would never cabinet such a secret in his breast, that might ruine them; at last made him so sensible of his danger in this life; but more sensible of the torments in the other, that *Weston* falling on his knees, said; *O Lord, how good and gracious art thou, and thy mercy is above all thy workes; for this day is salvation come to my soul, and I would not for all the world have had such a sinne upon me*; giving the Lieutenant humble thanks, that had been the instrument of saving his soul, by putting him off from so foul intentions.

The Lieutenant having now thus renewed grace in him, by making him (as he thought) a new man; said, thou and I have a dangerous part to act, yet be honest and true to me, and I doubt not, but with

Gods help, we ſhall perform it wel, both before God and the World; *Weſton* faithfully promiſed him, and for a long time as faithfully performed with him; the Lieutenant willed him, to bring all ſuch things as were ſent him (to give *Overbury*) unto him, which he accordingly did; the Lieutenant gave them to Cats and Dogs which he ever had ready in his ſtudy for that purpoſe; ſome died preſently, ſome lay lingering a longer time: all the Jellies and Tarts ſent to *Overbury*, hee caſt into his Privy, they deſtaining the very Diſhes.

This continued long, the Earle often ſending to viſit *Overbury*, aſſuring him he did not forget his releaſe, which would not be long deferred, wherein moſt men did verily beleeve he meant both nobly and truly, though others conjectured his meaning was a diſſolution: At laſt the Counteſſe ſent for *Weſton*, reviling him, and calling him, Treacherous

rous Villaine, for had he given those things sent, *Overbury* had not been now alive; vowing, she would be revenged on him; upon the very fear whereof, he then gave those poysons after sent, without acquainting the Lieutenant; yet for all this schooling of *Weston*, and his assurance given of his future fidelity to the Countesse, she would not trust him single any more, but put another Co-adjutor to him, one *Franklin*, a verier Villain then *Weston*, and truly they themselves may be deemed very ill, that could seek out such wicked instruments.

These two Villains, out of a desire to see the successe of their hellish imployment, comming shortly after it, into *Overburyes* chamber, found him in infinite torment, with contention between the strength of Nature and the working of the Poyson, and it being very like Nature had gotten the better in that contention, by the thrusting out of

boyls, botches, and blains, they fearing it might come to light, upon the judgement of Phisitians, that foul play had been offered him, consented to stifle him with the Bed-cloathes, which accordingly was performed, and so ended he his miserable life, with the assurance of the Conspirators, that he dyed by poyson; none thinking (much lesse knowing) otherwise, but these two Murtherers.

Now was all (as they beleeved) quiet, and in the depth of security, and the Earl and Countesse began to carry their loves more openly and impudently: But, they understanding that the world did talke very loudly, and broadly of this adulterous meeting; it must (from that ground) proceed to an adulterous Marriage, as well to the wronging a young Noble man, as to the dishonour and shame of themselves; *But they must needs goe whom the Devill drives*: yet know they not how, hand-

and ſomely to effect this, but by making the King a Party in this bawdy buſineſſe, which was no hard matter to effect; for the Kings eye began to wander after a new Favourite, being ſatiated with the old; therefore for the bringing this bawdery to a marriage, the Biſhops muſt be principall actors (as I know not in what bad action they would not be look'd on,) and the Biſhop of *Winchester*, an excellent Civilian, and a very great Scholler, muſt be the principal, for which his Son was Knighted, and will never loſe that by-title of Sir *Nullity Bilſon*.

For, by a nullity of the firſt Marriage, muſt the ſecond take place; For the canvaſing whereof, there were many meetings of the Biſhops and the prime Civillians, in which there wanted no bribes from the Lord, Lady, and their Friends, to have this nullity brought to paſſe, wherein the diſcourſe would have better befitted the mouths of

Bawds and Ruffians, then the grave Divines; among them Bishop *Neal*, (then Bishop of *Rochester*, a Creature and Favourite of the house of *Suffolke*) took up a learned discourse in the Science of Bawdery, how many degrees in that Science must produce a Nullity, wherein were so many beastly expressions, as for modesty sake I will not recite them, being offensive to my very thoughts and memory; *Aristotles* Problemes was a modest discourse to his, and he appeared to be better studied in that, then in Divinity, and to wind up his learned Discourse, concluded, all those met in this Lord, (meaning *Essex*) and this Lady.

The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* *Abbot*, to his everlasting fame, mainly opposed all the proceedings, and protested against them, for which he ever after lived in disgrace, excluded from the Councell Table, and dyed in the disgrace of the King on Earth, though in favour

favour with the King of Kings.

Yet, forſooth, to make up the ful meaſure of Bawdery, and to juſtifie *Neales* Diſcourſe, that all things in the former Marriage conduced to a nullity; a ſearch muſt be made, to finde whether there had been a penetration, and a Jury of grave Matrons were found fit for that purpoſe, with their Spectacles, ground, to leſſen, not to make the letter larger; who after their inſpection gave their (falſe) verdict, that ſhe was *intacta virgo*: which was thought very ſtrange, for the World tooke notice that her way was very neare beaten, ſo plaine, as by *regia via*, and in truth ſo it was, and a way more common than that, before *Somerſet* did ever travell that way; beſides, the World tooke notice they two had long lived in Adultery, yet had this old *Kettle* a trick for that alſo.

The Lady of *Eſſex*, for modeſty ſake, makes humble ſuit to the reverend

verend bawdy Bishops, (who were also plotters in this stratagem) that she might not appeare bare-faced, for blushing; but desired to come vailed, with a Taffity over her face; this by all meanes was thought so reasonable (for a pretty modest Lady) that the bawdy Bishops, and pur-blinde Ladies, which had forgotten modesty themselves, could not thinke it worthy the deniall; one Mistris *Fines*, neare Kinswoman to old *Kettle*, was dressed up in the Countesses Cloathes, at that time too young to bee other then *virgo intacta*, though within two yeares after, had the old Ladyes made their inspection, the orifice would not have appeared so small, to have delivered such a verdict as they did (and a just one) upon their views: though upon some of their knowledges it was not that Lady they were to give verdict upon; if any make doubt of the truth of this Story, the Author delivers upon the repu-

reputation of a Gentleman, he had it *verbatim* from a Knight, (otherwise of much Honour, though the very dependency on that Family may question it) which did usher the Lady into the place of inspection; and hath told it often to his friends in mirth. S.W. B.

Now is the Nullity pronounced, and the Marriage with *Somerset* with speed solemnized, for which they and the whole Family of *Suffolke* paid deare in after time; and had sowre sauce to that sweet meat of their great Son in Law

And surely he was the most unfortunate man in that marriage, being as generally beloved for himselfe, and disposition, as hated afterwards for his linking himselfe in that Family; for in all the time of this mans favour, before this Marriage, he did nothing obnoxious to the State, or any base thing for his private gaine, but, whether it was his owne nature that curbed him,

him, or that there was then a brave Prince living, and a noble Queene that did awe him, we cannot so easily judge, because after this Marriage, and their death, he did many very ill things.

In this Favourites flourishing time, came over the *Palsgrave* to marry our Kings Daughter, which for the present, gave much content, and with the generall applause; yet it proved a most unfortunate Match to him and his Posterity, and all Christendome; for his Alliance with so many great Princes, put on him aspiring thoughts, and so ambitious was he as not to content himselfe with his hereditary Patrimony of one of the greatest Princes in *Germany*; but must aspire to a Kingdome, beleeving that his great allyance would carry him through any enterprise, or bring him off with honour, in both which he failed; being cast out of his owne Country with shame, and he and his,

his, ever after, living upon the devotion of other Princes; but had his Father in Law ſpent halfe the mony in Swords he did in words, (for which he was but ſcorned) it had kept him in his owne inheritance, and ſaved much Chriſtian blood ſince ſhed; but whiles hee, being wholly addicted to peace, ſpent much treaſure, in ſending coſtly Embaſſadours to treat his Enemies (which he eſteemed friends) might have ſent Armies with a leſſe charge, to conquer, ſo that it may be concluded, that this then thought the moſt happy Match in Chriſtendome, was the greateſt unhappines to Chriſtendome, themſelves and Poſterity.

And, as if to fore-tell the ſad event, preſently after the Gallantry and triumphing of that Marriage, the Kingdome was clad all in mourning, for the ſad obſequies of that moſt hopefull Prince *Henry*, who dyed not without vehement ſuſpicion

on of Poyſon, and I wiſh I could ſay but ſuſpicion only; but our future diſcourſe will tell you otherwiſe: He was only ſhewed to this Nation, as the Land of *Canaan* was to *Moſes*, to look on, not to enjoy: wee did indeed joy in that happineſſe we expected in him, but God found us ſo unthankfull, and tooke ſo lightly the death of that ever famous Queen *Elizabeth*, as hee intended, to make us an example of ſcorne now, that were formerly, of all glory.

Pr. *Henry* and *Saliſbury's* death.

His death was fore-told by one *Bruce*, a moſt famous Aſtrologer of the *Scottiſh* Nation, for which the Earle of *Saliſbury* (a great Statesman) cauſed him to be baniſhed, who left this fare-well with the Earl, that it ſhould be too too true, yet his Lordſhip ſhould not live to ſee it, the Earle dying in *May*, the Prince in *November* following, to the infinite griefe of all the Kingdome; but the Earle of *Somerſet* and

Family

Family of *Howards*, who by his death thought themſelves ſecured from all future dangers; for, he being a Prince of an open heart, hating all baſeneſſe, would often ſay, If ever he were King, he would not leave one of that Family to piſſe againſt a wall.

This brave Prince being dead, *Somerſet* and that Faction bare all downe before them, diſpoſing of all offices; yet *Somerſet* never turned any out (as did the ſucceeding favourite) but places being voyd, he diſpoſed of them, and who would give moſt, was the word, yet not by *Somerſet* himſelfe, but by his Lady and her Family; for he was naturally of a noble diſpoſition, and it may be juſtly ſaid of him, that never could be ſaid of any before, or ever will be of any after him; He never got ſuite for himſelfe or friends that was burthenſome to the Commonwealth, no Monopolies, no Impoſitions; yet in his time, and by his fa-

favour, (though not for his use) were brought into the Court two meane fellowes grand Projectors, the one, *Ingram*, an ordinary Waiter of the Customes, the other, *Cranfield*, an Apprentice, who had served three broken Citizens, and it is probable by his wit and honesty he might thrive by them all, and lay that for his first a foundation of his future projecting; the one a creature of *Northamptons*, the other of the house of *Suffolke*, and these like ill birds defiled their owne nests, and discovered the secrets of the Custom house; yet their projects seemed for the Kings profit only, though much water ran by his Mill, and *Suffolke* did very well licke his owne fingers; for, *Salisbury* being dead, *Suffolke* was Treasurer (the proper place for Customs) and his Son in Law, Chamberlaine and Favourite, and then what could not they two doe?

Ingram and Cranfield Projectors.

Yet *Somerset* ever kept them but like

like Projectors, which after Favourites raised to the degrees of Nobility, only *Suffolke* by *Somersets* power made *Ingram* a Cofferer of the Kings House, which was the first apparent step to *Somersets* downfall; for, however the King made faire semblance to maintaine that Act, yet made he the Earle of *Kelly* his instrument to set the Officers of his household to petition him against it, and ever from the Kings owne directions to take their instructions, in which, one of the Principal given, was, not to seeke to *Somerset* upon any tearmes, nay, to deny to accept his favour though offered to disannul his owne act, but to carry it with an high hand against *Somerset*, by which, assurance was given of prevailing. Here was pretty jugling; (the Court being then but an *Academy* of Juglers.) *Somerset* did often Court the Officers (to make him that *Achilles* his Weapon, that could wound and heale againe) but

was entertained with scorne; yet ambition so dazled his eyes, hee could not see the *precipice* on which he stood ready for his downfall; for, surely no Astrologers could have given him truer notions of his ruine then this: *Cranfield*, the other Projector soared higher, though not in *Somersets* time could he have his feathers imped, but *Buckingham* after did so impe them, that *Cranfield* endeavoured to pull out his, and gave him the first affront; by this you may observe how the times altered from better to worse, and so fittest for worthlesse men.

Mr. *George Villiers* a Favourite.

For now began to appeare a glimering of a new Favourite, one Mr. *George Villiers*, a younger Son, (by a second Venter) of an ancient Knight in *Leicestershire*, as I take it, his Father of an ancient Family, his Mother but of a meane, and a waiting Gentle-woman, whom the old man fell in love with and married, by whom

whom he had three sons, all raised to the Nobility, by meanes of their brother-Favourite: this Gentleman was come also but newly from Travell, and at that time did beleeve it a great fortune to marry a Daughter of Sir *Roger Astons*, and in truth it was the heighth of his ambition, and for that only end was an hanger on upon the Court; the Gentlewoman loved him so well, as could all his friends have made (her for her great fortune) but an hundred Markes Joynture, she had married him presently, in despight of all her friends; and no question would have had him without any Joynture at all.

But, as the Fates would have it, before the closing up of this Match, the King cast a glancing eye towards him, which was easily perceived by such as observed their Princes humour, and then the Match was laid aside, some assuring him a greater Fortune was comming towards

him. Then, one gave him his place of Cup-bearer, that he might be in the Kings eye; another sent to his Mercer and Taylor to put good Cloathes on him; a third, to his Sempster for curious Linnen, and all as prefacive insinuations to obtaine Offices upon his future Rise; then others tooke upon them to be his Bravoes, to undertake his quarrels upon affronts put on him by *Somersets* Faction, so all hands helped to the piecing up this new Favourite.

Then begun the King to eate abroad, who formerly used to eate in his Bed-chamber, or if by chance supped in his Bed-chamber, after supper would come forth to see pastimes and fooleries; in which Sir *Ed. Zouch*, Sir *George Goring*, and Sir *John Finit* were the chiefe and Master Fools, and surely this Fooling got them more then any others wisdome, farre above them in desert; *Zouch* his part it was to sing

bawdy

bawdy ſongs, and tell bawdy tales; *Finnis*, to compoſe theſe Songs: then was a ſet of Fidlers brought to Court on purpoſe for this Fooling, and *Goring* was Maſter of the game for Fooleries, ſometimes preſenting *David Droman*, and *Archee Armſtrong* the Kings Foole, on the back of the other fools, to tilt one at another, till they fell together by the eares; ſometimes the property was preſented by them in Antick Dances. But Sir *John Millicent* (who was never known before) was commended for notable fooling, and ſo was he indeed the beſt extemporary foole of them all: with this jollity was this Favourite uſhered in. This made the houſe of *Suffolke* fret, and *Somerſet* carried himſelfe now more proudly, and his Bravado's, ever quarrelling with the others, which, by his Office of Lord *Chamberlaine*, for a while carried it. But, *Somerſet* uſing of Sir *Ralph Wynwood* (whom himſelfe

brought in for a Secretary of State) in so scornfull a manner (he having but only the title, the Earle himselfe keeping the Seales, and doing the businesse) made *Wynwood* endeavour to ruine him, who soone got an opportunity thereto, by frequenting the Countesse of *Shrewsbury* (then Prisoner in the Tower) who told *Wynwood* on a time, that *Overbury* was poysoned, which she had so understood from Sir *Gervase Elwaies*; who did labour by her meanes to deale with her two sons in Law, *Arundell* and *Pembrooke*, (*Wynwood* also being great-with that faction) that when it came into question, he might save his owne stake, who truly was no otherwise guilty, but that he did not discover it at *Westons* first disclosing it (hee being Keeper of the prison) so by inference, his not disclosing it, was *Overburies* death; and had he revealed it then, I dare say he had beene brought into the *Star-chamber* for

it,

it, and undone (for yet was not the time fit for discovery.) *Wynwood*, it was thought, acquainted the King with it, knowing how willingly he would have been rid of *Somerset*, yet the King durst not bring it in question, nor any question ever would have been, had not *Somerset* sought to crosse him in his passion of love to his new Favourite, in which the King was more impatient, then any woman to enjoy her love.

Not long after, *Thrumball*, Agent at *Bruxels*, had (by an Apothecaries boy one *Reeve*, after an Apothecary himselfe in *London*, and dyed very lately) gotten hold of this poysoning businesse, for *Reeve* having under his Master made some of those desperate Medicines, either run away, or else his Master sent him out of the way, and fell in company of *Thrumbals* servants at *Bruxels*, to whom he reveal'd it, they to their Master, who examining the boy, discovered the truth;

Thrumball presently wrote to Secretary *Wynwood* he had busineſſe of consequence to discover, but would not send it, therefore desired licence to come over. The King would not yeeld to his returne, but willed him to send an Expresse: That *Thrumball* utterly refused; and very wisely, for had any thing appeared under his hand, the boy might have dyed, or run away, and then had he made himselfe the Author of that which the courteſie of another must have justified.

The King being of a longing disposition, rather then he would not know, admitted *Thrumbals* returne, and now they had good testimony by the Apothecary, who revealed *Weſton*, Mrs. *Turner*, and *Franklyn* to be principall Agents, yet this (being neare the time of progresse) was not stirred in till about Michaelmas following; yet *Wynwood* did now carry himselfe in a braving way of contestation against *Somer-*

ſet,

ſet, ſtruck in with the Faction of *Villiers*, now on progreſſe. The King he went weſtward, where he was feaſted at *Cranborne*, by a Sonne in Law of that Family; at *Lulworth*, and *Bindon*, by the Lord *Walden*; at *Charlton*, by Sir *Thomas Howard*; and every where nothing but one Faction braving the other; then was the King feaſted at *Purbeck* by the Lord *Hatton*, who was of the contrary Faction, and at a Joynture houſe of Sir *George Villiers* mother, called *Gothy*, where he was magnificently entertained.

After all this feaſting, homeward came the King, who deſired by all meanes to reconcile this claſhing between his declining, and riſing Favourite; to which end, at *Lulworth* the King imployed Sir *Humphrey May*, a great ſervant to *Somerſet*, and a wiſe ſervant to *Villiers*, but with ſuch inſtructions as if it came from himſelfe: and *Villiers*, had order preſently after Sir *Humphrey Mayes* returne,

returne, to present himselfe and service to *Somerset*. My Lord, said he, Sir *George Villers*, will come to you to offer his service, and desire to be your creature; and therefore refuse him not, embrace him, and your Lordship shall still stand a great man, though not the sole Favourite: My Lord seemed averse, Sir *Humphrey* then told him in plaine tearmes, that he was sent by the King to advise it, and that *Villiers* would come to him to cast himself into his protection, to take his rite under the shadow of his wings: Sir *Humphrey May* was not parted from my Lord halfe an houre, but in comes Sir *George Villiers*, and used these very words, *My Lord, I desire to be your servant, and your creature, and shall desire to take my Court-preferment under your favour, and your Lordship shall finde me, as faithfull a servant unto you, as ever did serve you.* My Lord returned this quick and short answer, *I will none of your service,*

vice, nor ſhall you have any of my favour, I will, if I can, break your necke, and of that be confident. This was but a harſh Complement, and ſavoured more of ſpirit then wiſdome; and ſince that time, breaking each others necks was their aimes, and its verily beleeved, had *Somerſet* complyed with *Villiers*, *Overburyes* death had ſtil lain raked up in his own aſhes; but, God, who will never ſuffer murther to go unpuniſhed, will have what he will, maugre all the wiſdome of the World.

To *Windſor* doth the King return, to end His Progreſſe, from thence to *Hampton-Court*, then to *White-Hall*, and ſhortly after to *Royſton*, to begin His Winter-Iourney.

And now begins the game to bee plaid, in which, *Somerſet* muſt be the loſer, the Cards being ſhuffled, cut, and dealt between the King and Sir *Edward Cooke*, Cheiſe Iuſtice (whoſe Daughter *Purbeck*, *Villers* his Brother had married, or was to marry,

marry, and therefore a fit instrument to ruine *Somerset*) and Secretary *Winwood*; these all playd: The stake, *Somerset's* life, and his Ladyes, and their Fortunes, and the Family of *Suffolke*; some of them played booty, and in truth the Game was not plaid above-board.

The day the King went from *White-Hall* to *Theobalds*, and so to *Royston*, the King sent for all the Judges (his Lords and Servants encircling him) where kneeling down in the midst of them, he used these very words:

My *Lords the Judges*; *It is lately come to my hearing, that you have now in examination a businesse of poysoning: Lord in what a most miserable condition shall this Kingdom be, (the onely famous Nation for hospitality in the World) if our Tables should become such a snare, as none could eate without danger of life, and that* Italian *custom should be introduced amongst us! Therefore, my Lords, I charge you, as you will answer*

swer it at that great and dreadfull day of Judgement, that you examin it strictly without favour, affection, or partiality; and if you shall spare any guilty of this crime, Gods curse light upon you and your posterity: And if I spare any that are found guilty, Gods curse light on me, and my posterity for ever. But how this dreadfull thunder-Curse or imprecation was performed, shall be shewed hereafter; and I pray God, the effect be not felt amongst us, even at this day (as it hath been, I fear, on that vertuous Lady *Elizabeth*, and her children,) for God treasures up such imprecations and deprecations, and poures them out when a Nation least dreams, even when they cry, peace, peace, to their souls; and it may wel be at this time (our other sins concurring) that he is pouring them out upon King, Judges, and the whole State.

It appeares how unwilling the King was to ruin *Somerset*, a creature

of

of his owne making, But, *immedicabile vulnus, Ense rescindendum est*; Grace was offered by the King, had he had grace to have apprehended it.

The King with this, took his farewell for a time of *London*, and was accompanyed with *Somerset* to *Royston*, where no sooner he brought him, but instantly tooke his leave, little imagining what viper lay amongst the hearbs; nor must I forget to let you know how perfect the King was in the art of dissimulation, or, (to give it his own phrase) *Kingcraft*; The Earle of *Somerset* (to his apprehension) never parted from him with more seeming affection then at this time, when intentionally the King had so exposed him to *Cookes* dressing, that hee knew *Somerset* should never see him more; and had you seen that seeming affection (as the Author himself did) you would rather have beleeved he was in his rising, then setting: The Earl when he

he kiſſed his hand, the King hung about his neck, ſlabbering his cheeks, ſaying, for Gods ſake when ſhall I ſee thee againe? On my ſoule, I ſhall neither eate, nor ſleep, untill you come again; the Earl told him, on Monday (this being on the Friday,) for Gods ſake let me, ſaid the King, ſhall I? ſhall I? Then lolled about his neck; then, for Gods ſake, give thy Lady this kiſſe for me: in the ſame manner at the ſtayres head, at the midle of the ſtaires, and at the ſtayres foot; the Earle was not in his Coach, when the King uſed theſe very words (in the hearing of four ſervants, of whom, one was *Somerſets* great creature, and of the Bed-chamber, who reported it inſtantly to the Author of this Hiſtory) *I ſhall never ſee his face more.* I appeale therefore to the Reader, whether this Motto of *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, was not as well performed in this paſſage, as his *Beati pacifici*, in the whole courſe of his

K. James his parting with Somerſet

his life; and his love to the latter, made him to bee beaten with his own weapon in the other, by all Princes and States that had to doe with him.

But, before *Somersets* approach to *London* his Counteſſe was apprehended; at his arrivall, himſelfe; and the King being that night at ſupper, ſaid to Sir *Thomas Monſon*, My Lord cheife Juſtice hath ſent for you; he asked the King, when hee ſhould waite on him again, who replyed, you may come when you can: And (as in the ſtory of *Byron*, and many others) there have been many fooliſh obſervations, as preſage; ſo was there in this Gentleman, who was the Kings Mr. Faulconer, and in truth ſuch an one, as no Prince in Chriſtendom had; for, what Flights other Princes had, he would excell them for his Maſter, in which one was at the Kite.

The *French* ſending over his Faulconers to ſhew that ſport, his Maſter

ſter Faulconet lay long here, but could not kill one Kite, (ours being more magnanimous then the *French* Kite; Sir *Thomas Monſon* deſired to have that flight in all exquiſitneſſe, and to that end was at 1000*l.* charge in Ger-Faulcons for that flight, in all that charge, he never had but one caſt would performe it; and thoſe had killed nine Kites, which were as many as they were put off unto, not any one of them eſcaping. Whereupon the Earle of *Pembrooke* with all the Lords, deſired the King but to walk out of *Royſton* Townes end, to ſee that Flight, which was one of the moſt ſtatelieſt Flights of the world, for the high mountee: the King went unwillingly forth, the Flight was ſhewed, but the Kite went to ſuch a mountee, and the Hawke after her, as all the field loſt ſight of Kite and Hawke and al, and neither Kite nor Hawke were either ſeen or heard of to this preſent, which made all the Court conje-

ture it a very ill *omen*.

So that you see, the plot was so well laid, as they could be all within the toyle at one instant, not knowing of each other.

Now are in hold, the Earle, his Countesse, Sir *Thomas Monson*, Mris. *Turner* (a very lewd and infamous woman of life) *Weston* and *Franklin*, with some others of lesse note, of which one *Simon* a servant to Sir *Thomas Monson*, who was imployed in carrying Ielly and Tart to the Tower, who upon his examination, for his pleasant answer, was instantly dismissed, My Lord told him, *Simon* you have had a hand in this poysoning businesse; He replyed, no, my good Lord, I had but one finger in it, which almost cost me my life, and at the best cost me all my Hair and Nailes; for the truth was *Simon* was somewhat liquorish, and finding the syrrup swim from the top of a Tart, as he carryed it, he did with his finger scum it off, and

it

it was to be beleeved, had he known what it had been, hee would not have been his Taster at so deare a rate; and that you may know *Simons* interest with that Family, I shall tel you a story.

Sir *Thomas Monson* was a great lover of Musicke, and had as good as *England* had, especially for voyces, and was at infinite charge in breeding some in *Italy*. This *Simon* was an excellent Musician, and did sing delicately, but was a more generall Musician than ever the world had, and in one kind he surpassed all. He had a *Catzo* of an immense length and bignesse, with this, being his Tabor stick, his palme of his hand his Tabor, and his mouth his Pipe, he would so imitate a Tabor and Pipe, as if it had been so indeed: To this Musicke, would Mrs. *Turner*, the young Ladies, and some of that Ging dance ever after Supper; the old Lady, who loved that Musicke as well, as her Daughters, would sit

and laugh, shee could scarce sit for laughing; and it was beleeved, that some of them danced after that Pipe without the Tabor: his Master comming to heare of it turned him away, who was infinitly importuned to take him again, but would not: however he could not have wanted a service elsewhere, but he never durst use his pipe amongst them, for their dancing recreation, however he might for any other.

And now poor Mrs. *Turner*, *Weston* and *Franklin* began the Tragedy, Mrs. *Turners* day of mourning being better then the day of her birth: for she dyed very penitently, and shewed much modesty in her last act, which is to be hoped was accepted with God; after that dyed *Weston*; and then was *Franklin* arraigned, who confessed that *Overbury* was smothered to death, not poysoned to death; though he had poyson given him.

Here was *Cooke* glad, how to cast about

about to bring both ends together, Mrs. *Turner*, and *Weston* being already hanged for killing *Overbury* with poyson, but he being the very quintessence of Law, presently informes the Jury, that if a man be done to death, with Pistols, Poniards, swords, Halter, Poyson, &c. so he be done to death, the Indictment is good, if but indicted for any of those wayes; but the good Lawyers of those times were not of that opinion, but did beleeve, that Mrs. *Turner* was directly murthered by my Lord *Cookes* Law, as *Overbury* was without any Law.

In the next place, comes the Countesse to her Tryall, at whose Arraignment, as also at Mrs. *Turners* before, were shewed many Pictures, Puppits, &c. with some Exorcismes and Magick spels, which made them appear more odious, as being known to converse with Witches and Wizards; and amongst those tricks, *Formans* book was shewed. This *Forman*

was a fellow dwelt in *Lambeth*, a very silly fellow, yet had wit enough to cheate Ladyes, and other women, by pretending skill in telling their Fortunes, as, whether they should bury their Husbands, and what second Husbands they should have, and whether they should injoy their Loves, or whether Maids should get Husbands, or injoy their servants to themselves without Corrivals; but, before he would tell any thing, they must write their names to his Alphabeticall booke, with their own hand writing; by this trick he kept them in awe, if they should complaine of his abusing them, as in truth hee did nothing else: Besides, it was beleeved, some meetings were at his house, wherein the art of a Bawd was more beneficiall to him, then that of a Conjurer; and that hee was a better Artist in the one then other; and that you may know his skil, hee was himselfe a Cuckold, having a very pret-

ty

ty wench to his Wife, which would say, she did it to try his skill, but it fared with him as with Astrologers, that cannot foresee their owne destiny. I well remember, there was much mirth made in the Court, upon the shewing this booke, for it was reported, the first leafe my Lord *Cook* lighted on, he found his owne wives name.

The next that came on the stage was Sir *Thomas Monson*; but the night before he was to come to his Tryall, the King being at the game of Maw, said, To morrow comes *Tom Monson* to his Tryall; yea, said the Kings * Card-holder, where if he doe not play his Master-prize, your Majesty shall never trust me; this so run in the Kings minde, as the next game, he said he was sleepy, and would play out that Set next night; the Gentleman departed to his lodging, but was no sooner gone, but the King sent for him, what communication they had, I

*S.H. M.

know not, (yet it may be can more easily guesse then any other) but it is most certaine, next under God, that Gentleman saved his life, for the King sent a Post presently to *London*, to let the Lord chiefe Iustice know, he would see *Monsons* examination and confession, to see if it were worthy to touch his life, for so small a matter; *Monson* was too wise to set any thing but faire in his confession; what he would have stab'd with, should have been (*viva voce*) at his Arraignment. The King sent word, he saw nothing worthy of death, or of bonds, in his Accusation or Examination: *Cook* was so mad, he could not have his will of *Monson*, that hee said, Take him away, we have other matters against him of an higher nature; with which words, out issues about a dozen Warders of the Tower, and tooke him from the Barre; and *Cooks* malice was such against him, as though it rained extreamly,

treamly, and *Monſon* not well, he made him goe a foot from the *Guild-Hall* to the Tower, which almoſt coſt him his life; there he lay a cloſe priſoner above three months, to the end to get a Recorders place, (that *Cranfield* deſired) every man thinking him in ſome Treaſon, would not lend him any Money, and if ſo much money had not been paid by ſuch a time, his place had been forfeited. And in this let me commend the part of a true friend in Sir *Humphrey May*, who in 24 hours, (after Sir *Thomas* his deep ſenſibleneſſe of all other his friends deſerting him in that great exigency) made his Brother *Herick* take up 2000. l. and pay it, to ſave his Office, without ſo much as any ſecurity from Sir *Thomas Monſon*, (for he was cloſe priſoner) or from any friend of his; and that you may know it was for his office only, this hard meaſure was ſhewed him, the Money was no ſooner paid, but his friends

friends might come unto him; and I must not let passe the skill of the Lord *Loriskeine*, a *Scotch-man*, who long before, by his physiognomy, told Sir *George Marshall* that Sir *Thomas Monson* would escape hanging nearer then ever any man did, which was true, for he was twice brought to his triall, put himselfe both times upon his Country, yet was only indicted, never tryed, and yet he had harder measure then ever any man had, for he lost his Office, being but indicted, and not condemned, which is without any president.

And now for the last act, enters *Somerset* himselfe on the Stage, who (being told, as the manner is, by the Lieutenant, that he must provide to goe next day to his triall) did absolutely refuse it, and said, they should carry him in his Bed; that the King had assured him, he should not come to any triall, neither durst the King bring him to tryall; this was in an high straine,

and

and in a language not well under ſtood by Sir *George Moore* (then Lieutenant in *Elmaies* his roome) that made *Moore* quiver and ſhake, and however he was accounted a wiſe man, yet he was neare at his wits end.

Yet away goes *Moore* to *Greenewich*, as late as it was (being 12. at night) bounſeth at the back-ſtaires, as if mad, to whom came *Jo. Leveſton*, one of the Groomes out of his Bed, enquires the reaſon of that diſtemper at ſo late a ſeaſon; *Moore* tells him he muſt ſpeake with the King; *Leveſton* replyes, he is quiet (which in the Scottiſh dialect, is faſt aſleep) *Moore* ſayes, you muſt awake him; *Moore* was called in, (the Chamber left to the King and *Moore*) he tels the King thoſe paſſages, and deſired to be directed by the King, for he was gone beyond his owne reaſon, to heare ſuch bold and undutifull expreſſions, from a faulty Subject, againſt a juſt Sove-

raigne:

raigne: The King falls into a passion of teares: On my soule, *Moore*, I wot not what to doe, thou art a wise man, helpe me in this great straight, and thou shalt finde thou dost it for a thankfull Master, with other sad expressions; *Moore* leaves the King in that passion, but assures him he will prove the utmost of his wit, to serve his Majesty, and was really rewarded with a suit worth to him 1500. *l.* (although *Annandale* his great friend, did cheat him of one halfe, so was there falshood in friendship.)

Somersets Tryall.

Sir *George Moore* returnes to *Somerset* about three next morning, of that day he was to come to triall, enters *Somersets* chamber, tels him he had been with the King, found him a most affectionate Master unto him, and full of grace in his intentions towards him, but (said he) to satisfie Iustice, you must appeare, although returne instantly againe, without any further proceeding, only

only you shall know your enemies, and their malice, though they shall have no power over you: With this tricke of wit, he allayed his fury, and got him quietly, about eight in the morning, to the Hall, yet feared his former bold language might revert againe, and being brought by this trick into the toile, might have more inraged him to fly out into some strange discovery, for prevention whereof he had two servants placed on each side of him, with a Cloak on their armes, giving them withall a peremptory order, if that *Somerset* did any way fly out on the King, they should instantly hoodwink him with that Cloak, take him violently from the Bar, and carry him away; for which, he would secure them from any danger, and they should not want also a bountifull reward. But the Earle finding himselfe over-reached, re-collected a better temper, and went on calmly in his Tryall, where he held the

con-

company untill 7. at night. But who had seene the Kings restlesse motion all that day (sending to every Boat he saw landing at the Bridge, cursing all that came without tydings) would have easily judged all was not right, and there had been some grounds for his feares of *Somersets* boldnesse; but at last one bringing him word he was condemned, and the passages, All was quiet. This is the very relation from *Moores* owne mouth, and this he told *verbatim*, in *Wanstead* Parke, to two Gentlemen (of which the Author was one) who were both left by him to their own freedome, without engaging them, even in those times of high distemperatures, unto a faithfull secresie in concealing it: yet, though he failed in his wisdome, they failed not in that worth inherent in every Noble spirit, never speaking of it till after the Kings death.

And there were other strong inducements

ducements, to beleeve *Somerset* knew that by the King, he desired none other in the world should be partaker of, and that all was not peace within in the Peace-maker himselfe; for he ever courted *Somerset* to his dying day, and gave him 4000. l. *per annum* for Fee-farme Rents, after he was condemned, which he took in his servants names, not his owne (as then being condemned; not capable of) and he then resolved never to have a pardon. I have heard it credibly reported, he was told by a Wizzard, that could he but come to see the Kings face againe, he should be re-invested in his former dearnesse with him; this had been no hard experiment, but belike he had too much Religion, to trust to Wizzards, or else some friends of his had trusted them, and been deceived by them, that he had little reason to put confidence in them.

Many beleeved him guilty of *Overburies*

verburies death, but the most thought him guilty only of the breach of friendship (and that in a high point) by suffering his imprisonment, which was the high-way to his murther; and this conjecture I take to be of the soundest opinion; for by keeping him out of the action (if it were discovered) his greatnesse fortified with innocency, would carry their nocencies through all dangers. For the Gentleman himselfe, he had misfortune enough to marry such a woman, in such a Family, which first undermined his Honour, afterwards his life, (at least to be dead in Law;) not did any thing reflect upon him in all his time of Favourite, but in, and by that Family; first in his adulterous marriage, then in so hated a Family, and the bringing in *Cranfield* and *Ingram*, as Projectors, all by his Wives and friends meanes; otherwise had he been the bravest Favourite of our time, full of Majesty, im-

imploying his time like a Statesman, and the King kept correspondency with him by Letters, almost weekly, to his dying day.

And here have we brought this great mans glory to its period, with his fatal Countesse, who some years after it, dyed miserably at *Chiswick*. Mris. *Turner*, *Weston*, *Franklin* and *Elwayes* dyed in the Tower, *Weston* ever saying, it never troubled him to dye for the Blue Ribbons sake: and so was concluded that grand businesse, the grosse production of a then foul State and Court, wherein, Pride, Revenge and Luxury abounded. Yet, and its verily beleeved, when the King made those terrible Imprecations on himselfe, and Deprecations of the Iudges, it was intended the Law should run in its proper channell, but was stopt and put out of course by the folly of that great Clerke though no wise man, Sir *Edward Cooke*, who, in a vaine-glorious speech, to shew his vigilan-

cy, enters into a rapture as he then sat on the Bench, saying, *God knows what became of that sweet babe Prince* Henry *(but I know somewhat;)* & surely, in searching the Cabinets, he lighted on some Papers that spake plain in that which was ever whispered; which had he gon on in a gentle way, would have saine in of themselves, not to have been prevented, but this folly of his tongue, stopt the breath of that discovery, of that so foule a murder, which, I fear, cryes still for vengeance.

And now begins the new Favourite to reign, without any concurrent; now hee rises in honour, as well as swells with pride, breaking out of those modest bounds, (which formerly had impaled him) to the high-way of pride and scorne, turning out, and putting in all he pleated: First, he must aspire to the Admiralls Office himselfe, and would not let the old Gentleman (so well deserving in that place) dye with that

that Title, but the King must put himselfe to a great charge, to put out the better, and take in the worse; yet for all his immense greatnesse, would he never let him be Admiral, untill he had first setled Sir *Robert Mansell* Vice-Admirall of *England*, during his life, by Patent, in which, he not onely manifested his love to his Noble friend, though sometime his servant, but his care to the State, that his experience and abilities, might support the others inabilities; wel knowing, that the Honour and safety of the Kingdome, consisted in the wel-ordering and strength of the Navy.

Next, *Egerton* had displeased him by not giving way to his exorbitant desires, he must out, and would not let him seale up his dying eyes, with the seals which he had so long carryed, and so well discharged; and to despite him the more, and to vex his very soule in the last Agony, he

sent *Bacon* (one he hated yet, to be his Succeſſor) for the Seales, which the old mans ſpirit could not brook, but ſent them by his owne ſervant to the King, and ſhortly after yeelded his ſoul to his Maker.

Buckinghams Meſſage to *Bacon.*

And to the end you may know what men were made choyce of, to ſerve turnes, I ſhall ſet you downe a true ſtory: This great Favourite ſent a Noble Gentleman, and of much worth to *Bacon*, with this Meſſage, that he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, and as the times were, fit to ſerve his Maſter in the Keepers place, but hee alſo knew him of a baſe and ingrateſull diſpotion, and an arrant Knave, apt in his proſperity, to ruine any that had raiſed him from adverſity; yet for all this, hee did ſo much ſtudy his Maſters ſervice (knowing how fit an inſtrument he might be for him) that he had obtained the Seales for him; but with this aſſurance, ſhould he ever requite him, as he had done

ſome

ſome others to whom he had been more bound, he would caſt him downe as much below ſcorne, as he had now raiſed him high above any Honour he could ever have expected.

Bacon was at that time Attorney Generall, who patiently hearing this Meſſage, replyed, I am glad my noble Lord deales ſo friendly and freely with me, and hath made that choyce of ſo diſcreet and Noble a friend, that hath delivered his Meſſage in ſo plaine language; but faith he, can my Lord know theſe abilities in me? and can hee thinke when I have attained the higheſt preferment my profeſſion is capable of, I ſhall ſo much faile in my judgement, and underſtanding, as to loſe theſe abilities? and by my miſcarriage to ſo noble a Patron, caſt my ſelfe headlong from the top of that honour, to the very bottome of contempt and ſcorne? *Bacons* Anſwer.

Surely, my Lord cannot thinke so meanly of me. The Gentleman replyed, I deliver you nothing from my selfe, but the words are put into my mouth by his Lordship, to which I neither adde nor diminish; for, had it been left to my discretion, surely, though I might have given you the substance, yet should I have apparelled it in a more moddest attire; but as I have faithfully delivered my Lords to you, so will I as faithfully returne yours to his Lordship.

You must understand the reason of this Message, was, his ingratefulnesse to *Essex*, which every one could remember, for the Earle saved him from starving, and he requited him so, as his Apology must witnesse; were there not a great fault, there needed no Apology; nor could any age, but a worthlesse, and corrupt, in men and manners, have thought him worthy such a place of honour.

Well

Well, Lord Keeper he was, for which he paid nothing, nor was hee able; for now was there a new trick to put in dishoneſt and neceſſitous men, to ſerve ſuch turnes, as men of plentifull fortunes, and fair reputations, would not accept of; and this filled the Church and Common-wealth full of beggerly fellowes (ſuch daring to venture on any thing) having nothing to loſe; (for it is riches makes men cowards; Poverty, daring and valiant, to adventure at any thing to get ſomething) yet did not *Buckingham* doe things *gratis*, but, what their purſes could not ſtretch unto, they paid in penſions out of their places, all which went to maintaine his numerous beggerly kindred; *Bacon* paid a Penſion, *Heath* (Atturney) paid a Penſion, *Bargrave* (Deane) paid a Penſion, with many others: Nor was this any certaine rule, for preſent portions muſt be raiſed, for the Marri-

Buckingham's course to raiſe his kindred.

age of a poore Kitchin Maid, to be made a great Counteſſe; ſo *Fotherby* made Biſhop of *Sarum*, paid 3500 l. and ſome alſo, worthy men, were preferred *gratis*, to blow up their Fames, and Trumpet forth their Nobleneſſe (as *Tolſon*, a worthy man, paid nothing in Fine or Penſion; after him, *Davenant*, in the ſame Biſhoprick;) but theſe were but as Muſick before every ſceane; nor were fines or penſions certaine, but where men were rich, there Fines without reſervation of rent; where poore, and ſuch as would ſerve, turnes, there Penſions; no Fines; ſo *Weſton*, and many others: There were books of rates on all the Offices, Biſhopricks, Deaneries in *England*, that could tell you what Fines, what Penſions, otherwiſe it had been impoſſible ſuch a numerous kindred could have been maintained with the three Kingdomes Revenue.

Now was *Bacon* inveſted in his Of-

Office, and within ten dayes after, the King goes to *Scotland*; *Bacon* instantly begins to believe himselfe King, lyes in the Kings Lodgings, gives audience in the great Banqueting House, makes all other Councellors attend his motions, with the same state the King used to come out, to give audience to Embassadours; when any other Councellour sate with him about the Kings affaires, would (if they sate neare him) bid them know their distance; upon which, Secretary *Wynwood* rose, went away, and would never sit more (under his encroached State) but instantly dispatcht one to the King, to desire him to make haste back, for even his very Seat was already usurped: At which, I remember, the King reading it unto us, both the King and we were very merry; and if *Buckingham* had sent him any Letters, would not vouchsafe the opening or reading them in publique, though, it was said, requiring

quiring speedy dispatch, nor would vouchsafe him any answer. In this posture he lived, untill he heard the King was returning, and began to beleeve the Play was almost at an end, he might personate a Kings part no longer, and therefore did againe re-invest himselfe with his old rags of baseneſſe, which were so tattered and poore at the Kings comming to *Windſor*; he attended two dayes at *Buckinghams* Chamber, being not admitted to any better place, then the roome where Trencher-scrapers and Lacquies attended, there sitting upon an old wooden chest, (amongst such as for his baseneſſe, were only fit companions, although the Honour of his place did merit farre more respect) with his Purse and Seale lying by him, on that chest; My selfe told a servant of my Lord of *Buckinghams*, it was a shame to see the Purse and Seale of so little value or esteeme in his Chamber, though the Carryer, with-

He is scorned.

without it, merited nothing but scorne, being worst among the baseft. He told me they had command it must be so; after two dayes he had admittance: at first entrance he fell downe flat on his face at the Dukes foot, kissing it, vowing never to rise till he had his pardon, then was he againe reconciled, and since that time so very a slave to the Duke, and all that Family, that he durst not deny the command of the meaneſt of the kindred, nor oppose anything; by this you see, a base spirit is ever most concomitant with the proudest minde, and surely never so many brave parts, and so base and abject a spirit tenanted together in any one earthen Cottage, as in this one man: I shall not remember his baseneſſe, being out of his place, of pinning himselfe, for very scraps, on that Noble Gentleman, Sir *Julius Cæsars* Hospitality, that at last he was forced to get the Kings Warrant to remove him out of his house;

house; yet in his prosperity, the one being Chancellor, and the other Master of the Rolls, did so scorne and abuse him, as he would alter any thing the other did.

And now *Buckingham* having the Chancellor, Treasurer, and all great Officers his very slaves, swels in the height of pride, summons up all his Country kindred, the old Countesse providing a place for them to learne to carry themselves in a Court-like garbe, but because they could not learne the French Dances so soon as to be suitable to their gay Clothes, Country Dances (for their sakes only) must be the garbe of the Court, and none else must be used.

Then must these women-kindred be married to Earles, Earles eldest Sonnes, Barons, or chiefe Gentlemen of greatest estates, insomuch that the very female kindred were so numerous, as were sufficient to have peopled any Plantation; nay, very

very Kitchin-wenches were marri-ed to Knights eldeſt ſonnes; yet, as if *England* had not matches enough in the Kingdome, they married like the houſe of *Auſtria*, in their own kindred, witneſſe the Earle of *Angleſea*, married a couſen German, to whom he had given earneſt before; ſo that King *James*, that naturally, in former times, hated women; had his Lodgings repleniſhed with them, and all of the Kindred. The Brethren, great Earls. Little children did run up and downe the Kings Lodgings, like little Rabbit-ſtarters about their boroughs: Here was a ſtrange change, that the King, who formerly would not endure his Queen and children in his Lodgeings, now you would have judged, that none but women frequented them; nay, that was not all, but the kindred had all the houſes about *White-Hall* (as if they had been Bulwarks and Flankers to that Cittadell.) But, above all the Miracles

cles of those times, old Sir *Anthony Ashley*, who never loved any but boyes, yet he was snatcht up for a kinswoman, as if there had been a concurrency thorow the Kingdom, that those that naturally hated women, yet should love his kindred, as well as the King him.

And the very old Midwives of that kindred, flockt up for preferment, of which old Sir *Christopher Perkins*, a woman-hater, that never meant to marry, nay it was said, he had made a vow of Virginity, yet was coupled to an old Midwife, so that you see the greatnesse of this Favourite, who could force (by his power over the King) though against Nature.

But I must tell you, this got him much hatred, to raise brothers, and brother-in-laws to the highest rank of Nobility, which were not capable of the place, of scarce a Iustice of the Peace, only his brother *Purbeck* had more wit and honesty then all

all the kindred beside, and did keep him in some bounds of honesty and modesty, whilst he lived about him, and would speake plaine *English* to him: for which plainnesse, when they had no colour to put him from his brother, they practised to make him mad, and thought to bring that wicked stratagem to effect, by countenancing a wicked Woman, his Wife, the Lord *Cookes* Daughter against him, even in her base and lewd living.

And now is *Purbeck* mad indeed, and put from Court. Now, none great with *Buckingham*, but Bawds and Parasites, and such as humoured him in his unchaste pleasures; so that since his first being a pretty, harmlesse, affable Gentleman, he grew insolent, cruell, and a monster not to be endured.

And now is *Williams*, sometimes Chaplaine to the Lord Keeper *Egerton*, brought into play, made a privie-Councellor, Deane of *West-*

minster,

minister, and of secret Councell with the King, he was also made Bishop of *Lincolne*, and was generally voyced at his first step, to marry *Buckinghams* Mother, who was in her husbands time, created a Countesse (he remaining still) a C. silly drunken sot) and this was the first president of this kinde ever known. *Williams* held her long in hand, and no doubt, in nature of her Confessor, was her secret friend, yet would not marry at present: which, afterwards, was cause of his downfall.

Then was there a Parliament summoned, in which, *Bacon* for his bribery and injustice, was thrust out, being closely prosecuted by one *Morby* a Woodmonger, and one *Wrenham*, formerly deeply censured in the *Star-Chamber* for accusing him of bribery and injustice; *Bacon* was by Parliament justly put out of his place, and but only for the Votes of the Bishops, had been degraded;

the

the Bishops might have done better to have kept their voyces to have done themselves service at this time, but surely that with some other injustice of theirs, had so filled up their measure of iniquity, that now Gods anger is kindled against them.

In *Bacons* place comes *Williams*, a man on purpose brought in at first to serve turnes, but in this place to doe that which none of the Layity could be found bad enough to undertake; whereupon this observation was made, that first, no Layman could be found so dishoneſt as a Clergy man; next, as *Bacon* the Father of this *Bacon*, did receive the seales from a Bishop, so a Bishop againe received them from a *Bacon*; and at this did the Lawyers fret, to have such a flower pulled out of their Garland.

This *Williams*, though he wanted much of his Predeceſſors abilities for the Law, yet did he equall him

for learning and pride, and beyond him in the way of bribery, this man answering by Petitions, in which his servants had one part, himselfe another, and so was calculated to be worth to him & his servants 3000 *l. per annum*, by a new way never found out before.

And now being come to the height of his preferment, he did estrange himselfe from the company of the old Countesse, having much younger ware, who had keyes to his chamber to come to him, yet was there a necessity of keeping him in this place for a time, the *Spanish* Match being yet in chase, and if it succeeded, this man was to clap the great Seale (through his ignorance in the Lawes) to such things that none that understood the danger by knowing the Lawes, would venture upon, and for this designe was he at first brought in, (no Prince living knowing how to make use of men, better then King *James*.)

Now

Now was also *Suffolke* turned out of his place of Lord Treasurer, and a fellow (of the same Batch that *Williams* was) brought into his place, *Cranfield*, that was the Projector, and never could get higher then that title in *Somersets* time, now marrying one of *Buckinghams* kindred, attained one of the highest Titles in the Kingdome; so that it was now generally said, that for pride and baseneſſe theſe two great places were never so suited, both of meane birth, both proud, only the one an excellent Scholler, and of great parts; the other, nothing but a pack of ignorance lodered together with impudence to raiſe him (beſides his marriage in the lusty kindred.)

This *Cranfield* was a fellow of so meane a condition, as none but a poore spirited Nobility would have endured his perching on that high Tree of honour, to the dishonour of the Nobility, the disgrace of the

Gentry, and not long after, to his owne dishonour, who was thrust out of the Lords House with this censure, that *Thos* Lionell, *Earle of Middlesex, shall never sit, or have voice more in this House of Peeres, and shall pay for a fine to our Soveraigne Lord the King,* 20000*l.* leaving him still to out-top the Gentry. The Bishops kept him also from degrading, which I doe verily beleeve is one cause the Gentry will degrade them.

The Prince goes into Spaine.

The *Spanish* Match, having been long in Treaty, and it being suspected now, that the *Spaniard* did juggle with the State in this, as they formerly did in a Match with that brave Prince *Henry*, and in truth, in all other things wherein any negotiation had been, only feeding the King with faire hopes, and faire words, yet foule deeds. Whether the King suspected any such matter, or any whimsey came in the braine of this great Favourite and Prince,

to

to imitate the old ſtories of the Knights Errand, but agreed it was (it ſhould ſeeme) between the Favourite and the Prince only (no one other ſo much as dreaming of any ſuch adventure except *Cottington*, that the Prince muſt goe himſelfe into *Spaine*: away they went under the borrowed names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith*, to the amazement of all wiſe men, only accompanied with *Cottington*, and ſome one or two more at moſt; taking their way by *France*, they had the Ports laid ſo, that none ſhould follow them, or give any notice to the *French* Court, till they might get the ſtart, &c. yet their wiſdomes made them adventure to ſtay in the *French* Court, and looke on that Lady whom he after married, and there did this *Mars* imitate one of Prince *Arthurs* Knights, in ſeeking adventures through forraigne Princes territories; Firſt beheld this *French* beauty, *Mars vidit, viſamque*

cupit, potiturque cupita; as in our discourse will afterward appear; from thence away to *Spaine*; but as the Journey was only plotted by young heads, so it was so childishly carried, that they escaped the *French* Kings Curriers very narrowly, but escape they did, and arrived safely in *Spaine* their wished Port, before either welcome, or expected, by our Embassadors, or that State.

Yet now must the best face bee put on, at all hands, that put their Grandees to new shifts, and our Embassadour the Earl of *Bristoll* to try his wit, for at that time was Sir *Walter Aston* also Embassador at *Spaine*, in all occurrences *Aston* complyed with the Prince and Duke, *Bristol* ran counter; and the Duke and *Bristol* hated each other mortally.

Bristol had the advantage of them there, as having the much better head-peice, and being more conversant and dear with that State, wholly complying with them, and surely

ly had done them very acceptable ſervices (and in this very Treaty was of the pack) *Buckingham* had the advantage of him in *England* (although the King did now hate *Buckingham*, yet was ſo awed that hee durſt not diſcover it) Then *Buckingham* had all intereſt in his Succeſſor by this journy, ſo that he laid a preſent and future foundation of his ſucceeding greatneſſe.

For all his power and greatneſſe *Briſtoll* did not forbeare to put all ſcornes, affronts, and tricks on him, and *Buckingham* lay ſo open, as gave the other advantage enough by his laſcivious carriage, and miſcarriage. Amongſt all his tricks, hee playes one ſo cunningly, that it coſt him all the hair on his head, and put him to the dyet; for it ſhould ſeem hee made court to *Conde Olivares* wife, a very handſom Lady, But it was ſo plotted betwixt the Lady, her Husband and *Briſtol*, that inſtead of that beauty, he had a notorious Stews-

bird sent him, and surely, by reason of his said loose and vicious disposition; had ever the Match been really intended for our Prince, yet such a Companion or Guardian, was enough to have made that wary Nation, beleeve that hee had also been that way addicted; and so have frustrated the Marriage (that being a grave and sober people, now especially when conversed with by such great forraign ghests) but they wel observed the Prince himselfe to be of an extraordinary well staied temper,

But now, many Lords flockt over, and many Servants, that he might appear the Prince of *England*, and like himselfe, though hee came thither like a private person, many Treaties were, sometimes hope, sometimes dispair, sometimes great assurance, then all dasht againe, and however, his entertainment was as great as possible that State could afford; yet was his addresses to, and with

with, the Lady, ſuch, as rendred him meane, and a private perſon, rather then a Prince of that State that formerly had made *Spaine* feel the weight of their anger, and power; and was like a Servant, not a Suitor, for he never was admitted, but to ſtand bare-head in her preſence, nor to talke with her, but in a full audience with much company.

At laſt, after many heats and cooles, many hopes, and deſpaires, the Prince wrote a letter to his Father of a deſperate deſpaire, not only of not injoying his Lady, but of never more returning, with this paſſage, *You muſt now, Sir, look upon my Siſter and her children, forgetting ever you had ſuch a Son, and never thinking more of me.*

Now the folly of this voyage, plotted only by green heads, began to appear, many ſhewing much ſorrow, many ſmiling at their follies (and in truth glad in their hearts) and however the King was a cunning

ning dissembler, and shewed much
1. outward sorrow, as he did for Prince *Henryes* death, yet something was discerned, which made his Court beleeve little greife came neare his heart, for that hatred he bare to *Buckingham* long (as being satiated with him) and his adoring the rising Sunne, not looking after the Sunne setting, made the world beleeve hee would thinke it no ill bargaine to lose his Son, so *Buckingham* might bee lost also, for had he not been weary of *Buckingham*, he would never have adventured him in such a journey, all his Courtiers knew that very well.

And for a further illustration of his wearinesse of *Buckingham*, It appeared in the Parliament before, when the King gave so much way to his ruine, that *Buckingham* challenged him that hee did seeke his ruine, and being generally held as a lost man, the King (to make it appeare it was not so, although, as here-

hereafter you ſhall underſtand, it was ſo, and that the King durſt not avow his own act,) brought him off from that Parliament, but *Buckingham* hated the King ever afterwards.

The reaſon the King ſo hated *Buckingham*, (beſides his being weary of him, for his now ſtaleneſſe, was his marriage, after which the Kings edge was ever taken off from all Favourites as well as him; yet this had ſo much the over-awing power of him, that hee durſt not make ſhew to affect any other,) there was one *Innioſſa* a Spaniſh Embaſſador extraordinary here, being an old Soldier and a gallant fellow, who thought that *Buckingham* did not give that reſpect to him was due to his own perſon, or to the perſon of ſo great a King whoſe perſon he repreſented; *Innioſſa* therefore did as much ſcorn and ſlight *Buckingham* & the Prince whom he found wholly governed by *Buckingham*; for now *Buckingham* had found, by many paſ-

ſages,

ſages, the Kings deſire to be rid of him, be made Court to the Prince, and ſo wrought himſelf into his affection, that *Damon* and *Pythias* were not more dear each to other, which by no means could the old King away with, nor in truth did any other like or approve of the Prince his poor ſpirit, fearing it foretold his future inclination, that could ever indure any familiarity with ſuch an one, as had put ſuch foul ſcorns and affronts on him in his time of greatnes with the Father: eſpecially, ſuch as called to minde the bravery of his brother, who hated the whole Family for their generall baſeneſſe, although none of them had ever offended him in particular, as this man had done the Prince at two ſeverall times, once, before an infinite concourſe, by bidding him in plaine termes kiſſe his Arſe; a ſecond time, offering to ſtrike him, ſaying in moſt undutiful terms, *By God it ſhall not bee ſo, nor you ſhall*

ſhall not have it, lifting up his hand over his head with a Ballon-Bracer, that the Prince ſaid, *what, my Lord, I thinke you intend to ſtrike me*: The firſt of theſe audacious affronts was at *Royſton*, the ſecond at *Greenwich*, before about 400. people. Neither of which were to bee indured by a private perſon, but by a Prince from a private perſon, ſurely it ſhowed a much leſſe ſpirit then ſhould have been inherent to a Prince, and after this, to bee ſo deare with him, as to be governed by him all his life time, more then his Father was in the prime of his affection, I can give it no title meane enough; it had been worthy the Noble minde of a Prince to have forgotten ſuch injuries, as never to have revenged them when he had been King, but never to have ſuffered him to have come neare his Court, to upbraid him with the ſight of ſo much ſcorn, and that publickly offered him before: But at that

that time I well remember some Crittiks in Court did not stick to read his future destiny.

This *Innioſſa* being a brave daring Gentleman, used some speeches in the derogation of the Prince and *Buckingham*, as if they were dangerous to the old King; nay, *Innioſſa* sent one *Padro Maceſtria* (a *Spaniſh* Jesuite, and a great Statesman) to King *James*, to let him know, that he, (under confession) had found the King was by *Buckingham*, or by his procurement, to be killed, but whether by poyson, Pistoll, Dagger, &c. that he could not tell.

The King, after the hearing of this, was extream melancholly, and in that passion was found by *Buckingham* at his returne to him. The King, as soon as ever he espied him, said, Ah *Stenny*, *Stenny*, (for so he ever called him in familiarity,) wilt thou kill me? at which *Buckingham* started, and said, who, Sir, hath so abused you? at which the King sat

silent;

silent; out went *Buckingham*, fretting and fuming, asked, who had been with the King in his absence? It was told him *Padro Macestria*, then who brought him to the King? it was replyed, the Earl of *Kelly*; then flew *Buckingham* on him, to know how he durst bring any one in to the King in his absence, or without his licence? *Kelly* stood up close to him (for you must know, *Kelly* was the truest alarum to give warning of the downefall of a Favourite, of any in the Court) and knew his power could doe him no hurt with the King, in present; although it utterly cast him out of all favor from the King in future.

Then *Buckingham* questioned *Padro Macestria*, but that quarrel was interposed and undertook by *Innisosa*, who told him he would maintaine him a Traytor, and that, were his Masters person off him; he was a Chivalier, and better borne then himselfe, and would make it good on him

him with his Sword.

Which high comparison (though I beleeve true enough) together with his generous Charge and Challenge, *Buckingham* for that time swallowed, and only thought of this shift to vindicate himselfe on *Innioſſa*, which was, to cause the Prince to write a Letter of complaint to the King of *Spaine*, for abusing him and *Buckingham*; but the King of *Spaine* returned the Letter in a kind of scorne, to *Innioſſa*, not as blaming him, but rather commending him, and *Innioſſa* in scorne sent it to the Prince, as if he should say, there is your Letter to wipe ——, which is all it is fit for.

Now have you heard what made the King hate *Buckingham*, you shal also hear the reason of *Buckinghams* extreame hatred to the King, which was beleived the cause of his so speedy death. *Yelverton*, a very faithful servant to the King, and his Attorney General, and no lesse affectionate

to

to *Somerset*, being formerly raised by him without any seeking of his, or so much as within his thought, insomuch as to expresse his love to *Somerset*, he desired to lay downe that great place, rather then aggravate, as his place required, against him. This man, as well out of his faithfulnesse to the King, as affection to *Somerset*, was made choyce of, to worke the downefall of *Buckingham*, in which he apparently shewed himselfe. But *Buckingham*, as I told you before, out of the Kings feare, that durst not maintaine his owne designe, but left his Instruments to the mercy of *Buckinghams* tyranny, being once gotten out of the toile, like a chased Boare, foamed, and bit at all came neare him, and amongst them first fastned on *Yelverton*, put him out of his place, and committed him close Prisoner to the Tower; *Yelverton* having shewed himselfe so faithfull to his Master, and he againe so unfaithfull to him, to leave him to

undergo the whole burden of *Buckinghams* fury, did fly out in some passion before Sir *Allen Appesly*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Buckinghams* great creature.

Appesly telling the Duke of some passages in his passion, the Duke one night about 12. a clock came in a a disguise, and with the Lieutenant only, entred *Felverton's* lodging, *Felverton* at first sight started, verily beleeving, he came in that manner to murther him; yet, at last recollected himselfe, and said: My Lord, have you the Kings Warrant for this? the Duke said, no; then said *Felverton*, how dare you enter a close prisoners lodging? it is as much as your life is worth: And assure your selfe Master Lieutenant, the King shall know of this, and you must answer it. My Lord said, I come to you (as a friend, though formerly, I confesse, upon just cause, your mortall enemy;) only to aske you but two questions, which if you

you will resolve me, I vow to be a greater friend now then ever an enemy, and can, and will restore you foure-fold; *Telverton* told him, if they were such as he might, hee would.

The first he asked was, What wrong he had ever done him, that he so greedily thirsted after his blood? *Telverton* replyed, never any, but I was set on by a power that I could not withstand, to doe what I did; he asked him by whom? by the King your Master, said he, who hates you more then any man living, which you might well understand, when in his Speech to the Parliament, he said, he would not spare any (no not any that were dearest to him, or lay in his bosome) by which he pointed them to you.

Wel, said *Buckingham*, I see you have dealt like a Friend with me, by many other concurrences as well as by this; give me your hand, henceforth you are my friend, and I am

yours; and I will raise you higher then I have cast you downe: which he had made good, had *Telverton* lived to have injoyed it, for he was instantly released, and the next preferment he gratified him with was a Judges place, and he had been Lord Keeper, had not death prevented it. And if there were no other reason, but his change from a mortall enemy to so firme a friend, this were sufficient to confirme the truth of this story. But the Authour had this from *Telvertons* owne relation, and cannot commend *Telverton*, because it is verily beleeved this hastened the Kings death.

Now have you heard the true causes of *Buckinghams* hatred to the King, and the Kings to *Buckingham*, the King having the more power to revenge, had the lesse courage; *Buckingham* lesse power, but more courage, sharpened with revenge: And however the World did beleeve the Kings inclination was out of a religious

gious ground, that he might not revenge, yet it was no other but a cowardly disposition that durst not adventure; But although the King lost his opportunity on *Buckingham*, yet the black plaister and powder did shew *Buckingham* lost not his on the King; and that it was no fiction but a reallity, that *Padro Macestria* had formerly told the King.

And now to returne from this digression, which is not impertinent, (besides a great secret,) the Prince returnes from *Spaine*, contrary to expectation; in which the wisdome and gravity of the *Spaniard* failed him, especially if they did beleeve *Padro Macestria* (besides nature could not long support the old King) and then the *Spaniard* might have made no little advantage by injoying such a pledge: But they have confessed their errour, yet doe palliate it with having the Prince his faith and his proxie left with *Digby*, and got thence with the very same tricke

Sir *Francis Michell* ſaid, he got out of the Inquiſition at *Rome*.

Now is all the fault laid on *Digbyes* falſe play and unfaithfulneſſe to his Maſter, and combining with the *Spaniard*, and by this peece of ſervice expreſſing his hatred to the *Spaniard* for his owne ends (the Subjects of *England* having ever naturally hated them) *Buckingham*, the moſt hated man then living, from an accuſed man in the former Parliament, came to be the very darling of this Parliament, and a favourite to the whole Kingdome, which after King *James* his death he as ſoone loſt againe, (ſo inconſtant are the multitude.)

In the Banquetting-houſe before both Houſes of Parliament, is *Buckingham* to give an account of this voyage, which he did at large, and to every full point as a further atteſtation, he ſaith, how ſay you Sir? to which the Prince anſwered, *I, yea, or yet*, and through all his dif-

discourse laboured to make *Bristoll* as hatefull to this Parliament, as himselfe had been to the former: which, had these things delivered by him, and attested by the Prince, been truths; he had justly deserved death, the accusations were foule, and little lesse then treason, without any legislative power.

Digby had some friends who instantly sent this Declaration into *Spaine*, *Digby* acquaints that King, takes his leave of him for *England*: that King sets his danger before him, offers if he will stay with him, seeing it is for his sake he is like to suffer, he would make him much greater in Honour and fortune then his Master can doe; *Digby* gives him thankes, but sayes, he served so just a Master that would not condemne him unheard, and should he, yet he had much rather suffer under innocency, then lye under the imputation of a false accusation of a fugitive, and Traytor, for the highest

preferment in the World.

Away therefore comes he, puts himselfe into a desperate passage, least the Parliament should have been dissolved before his comming, and so no place or meanes left him for his defence, but must lye under those false calumnies, and was here (as the Prince came into *Spaine*) sooner then either looked for, or welcome.

Into the Parliament comes he, with his Hat full of papers, where he puts himselfe upon this point, that if there were one syllable true that *Buckingham* had delivered, if this (holding up a Paper in his hand) be a true copy; I will yeeld my selfe guilty of all treasons can be laid to my charge, and said, these papers, (pointing to his Hat) shall make it manifest: Besides, some of them shall make *Buckingham* appeare a very monster in his lascivious carriages, too too unchaste for the eares of this Honourable Assembly:

ſembly: *Briſtoll* was inſtantly committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower for a contempt; the next day hee was riding through Cheap-ſide in his Coach, by which it appeares *Buckinghams* power was in the wane with his old Maſter, his relation and accuſation being ſcandalous and falſe; nor ever durſt hee bring *Briſtol* to any further tryall.

Whether this wound was deeper given by *Briſtol* to *Buckingham*, or the Prince, I will leave to the reader to judge, and will not my ſelfe determine; And how *Briſtol* hath ſince ſtood in favour with the Prince, ſince he was King, may give a conjecture, that he tooke it as a wound to himſelfe, I am ſure it was an ill omen, and hath ſince given him leſſe credit with his Subjects.

Cranfield accuſed in parliament

And in this Parliament doth *Buckingham* by his under-hand Miniſters and Agents, accuſe *Cranfield* the Lord Treaſurer, in which the Prince alſo ſhewes himſelfe: *Cranfield*

field was so hated a fellow for his insolency, that a small accusation would serve the turne, as this truly was, had his care of expending the Kings Treasure been out of a true zeale: for it should seeme that the Prince sending for monies, *Cranfield* restrained his Expresse, using some words, that the journey it selfe was fooliſhly undertaken, and now must be maintained by prodigality, in which the Revenue of the Kingdom would not satisfie their vast expences; if this had been spoken out of a Noble minde, or out of that feeling he had of the Kingdomes misery (as being Treasurer he ought to have done) had he fallen, it had been with honour and a generall compassion, but being spoken out of the pride and insolency of his owne heart, whose minde was ever so base, as never to discerne what Honour was, nor ever had he any other inherent Honour then what in his Apprentiſhip he raked out of

the

the Kennel; besides it was knowne to be out of hatred, that he was not of councell in the undertaking, he then looking at himselfe as the only Statesman of all the Councell: He fell without pitty, and with much scorne, as I formerly set downe; yet left in a higher estate, and better condition then so worthlesse a fellow, and base Projector deserved, yet afterwards hee was againe questioned upon his accounts: But all this was nothing, himselfe, and his Posterity being left Peeres of the Realme.

In this case was the Prince a principall actour, and did duly keep the earliest houres to sit in that Parliament, where, then he discerned so much juggling even to serve his owne ends on *Cranfield*, that it was not much to be wondred at, being come to be King, he did not affect them: And it was not well that a Prince should shew so much spleen, though *Cranfield* deserved any ill

could

could be cast on him, and who knowes whether God doth now punish by Tallion Law, to call his owne sin to remembrance, and to repent?

In this place I hold it not unfit to shew the Reader how the King hath ever been abused, and would be abused, by over-much credulity, in the treaty of *Spaine* for marriages, as well as in all other Negotiations.

You shall now perceive how the King was abused in this treaty, which was an error inexcusable, in himselfe and whole Councell. The *Italians* having a Proverbe, *He that deceives me once, its his fault, but if twice, its my fault*: this second time therefore could not but be the only fault of the King and Councell.

In Prince *Henry* his life time, the King had a little man, but a very great and wise Counsellour, his Secretary of State, little *Salisbury*, that great Statesman, who did inherit

herit all his Fathers wisdome, as well as his Offices, and the sonne came little short of the father, who was held the greatest Statesman in the world, of his time. It is true, that one State may abuse another, but, not to finde out the abuse, is an unpardonable fault in any Statesman.

There was a treaty in the like case for Prince *Henry*, *Salisbury* instantly discovered the jugg ling before any other did thinke of any, for although it went forward currently, yet did *Salisbury* so put the Duke of *Lerma* unto it, that either it must be so, or they must confesse their juggling.

The Duke of *Lerma* denyed that ever there had been any treaty, or any intention from that State; *Salisbury* sent for the Embassadour to a full Councell, told him how hee had abused the King & State, about a treaty for Marriage, which he had no Commission for; that therefore he

he was lyable to the Lawes of our Kingdome; for where any Embassadour doth abuse a State by their Mrs. Commission, then the servant was freed; but without Commission, was culpable and lyable to be punished by the Lawes of that State, as being disavowed to be servant to the King his Master: The Embassadour answered gravely, he did not understand the cause of his comming, therefore was then unprepared to give any answer, but on Monday he would againe come, this being Saturday, and give his answer. On Monday he comes, begins with these words, *My soule is my Gods, my life my Masters, my reputation my owne, I will not forfeit the first and last, to preserve the second*; Then layes downe his Commission, and Letters of instruction, under the Duke of *Lerma's* owne hand: he acquitted himselfe honestly to this State, yet lost his owne, being instantly sent for home, where he lived

and

and dyed in disgrace. Here was *Legatus vix bonus peregrè missus, sed non ad mentiendum reipublicæ causa*: And had we had as honest and good Statesmen, in after times (as *Salisbury* was, and so demonstrated himselfe in this weighty Affaire) this State could not have been so abused in all Treaties.

By this you see the advantage and benefit of one wise Counsellour in a whole State; and although *Salomon* say, By the multitude of Counsellors doth a kingdome flourish, yet surely he intended they should be wise men that are Counsellours; for we had such a multitude of Counsellours, that a longer table, and a larger Counsell-chamber was provided, yet our State was so far from flourishing, that it had been almost utterly destroyed; this was the last Statesman worthy of that name; and now are the ancient stock of Statesmen decayed, and with them all our honour and glory.

I shall now bring my Story to an end, as I shall this Kings life; although I have made some digressions, yet all pertinent to the discourse of this Kings reigne.

He now goes to his last Hunting journey, I meane the last of the yeare, (as wel as of his life) which he ever ended in Lent; and was seized on by an ordinary and moderate Tertian Ague, which at that season, according to the Proverb, was Physick for a King, but it proved not so to him; and poore King, what was but Physick to any other, was made mortall to him! yet not the Ague, as himselfe confessed to a servant of his now living, who cryed, courage Sir, this is but a small fit, the next will be none at all, at which he most earnestly looked, and said, Ah, it is not the Ague afflicteth me, but the black plaister and powder given me, and laid to my stomack; and in truth, the plaister so tormented him, that he was glad to have it pulled

pulled off, & with it the skin also; nor was it faire dealing, if he had faire play (which himselfe suspected) often saying to *Montgomery*, whom he trusted above all men, in his sickneſſe, for Gods sake, looke I have faire play) to bring in an Emprick, to apply any Medicines, whilst those Physitians appointed to attend him, were at dinner; nor could any but *Buckingham* answer it with lesse then his life at that present, as he had the next Parliament, had it not been dissolved upon the very questioning him for the Kings death, and all those that prosecuted him, utterly disgraced and banished the Court.

Buckingham comming into the Kings Chamber, even when he was at the point of death, and an honest servant of the Kings crying: *Ah my Lord, you have undone us, all his poore servants, although you are so well provided you need not care*: At which, *Buckingham* kickt at him, who caught

his foot, and made his head first come to ground, where *Buckingham* presently rising, run to the dying Kings bed side, and cryed, *Justice, Sir, I am abused by your servant, and wrongfully accused*; at which the poore King, (become by that time speechlesse) mournfully fixed his eies on him, as who would have said, not wrongfully.

It were worth the knowledge, what his confession was, or what other expressions he made of himselfe, or any other; but that was only known to the dead Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, and the Bishop *Williams* then also Lord Keeper, and it was thought *Williams* had blabbed something which incensed the Kings anger, and *Buckinghams* hatred so much against him, that the losse of his place could not be expiatory sufficient, but his utter ruine must be determined, and that not upon any knowne crime, but upon circumstances, and examinations, to pick

pick out faults, committed in his whole life time; but his greateſt crime for the preſent, (no queſtion) was *lapſus linguæ*, but *quod defertur non aufertur*, for although he eſcaped by the calme of that Parliament, yet is he more ruined by this Parliament, and his owne folly; and truly we may obſerve the juſt Judgement of God on him, for flying from the Parliament his protector, to give wicked counſell to the King, his former proſecutor.

And now have I brought this great Kings Reigne to an end, in a volant diſcourſe, and ſhall give you his Character in briefe, and ſo leave him in peace after his life, who was ſtiled the King of peace in his life.

THE CHARACTER OF KING JAMES.

His Kings Character is much easier to take then his Picture, for he could never be brought to sit for the taking of that, which is the reason of so few good peeces of him; but his Character was obvious to every eye.

He was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his cloathes then in his body, yet fat enough, his cloathes ever being made large and easie, the Doublets quilted for stelletto proofe, his Breeches in great pleits and full stuffed: Hee was naturally of a timorous dispostion, which

which was the reaſon of his quilted Doublets: His eyes large, ever rowling after any ſtranger came in his preſence, inſomuch, as many for ſhame have left the roome, as being out of countenance: His Beard was very thin: His Tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him ſpeak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup of each ſide of his mouth: His skin was as ſoft as Taffeta Sarſnet, which felt ſo, becauſe hee never waſht his hands, onely rubb'd his fingers ends ſlightly with the wet end of a Napkin: His Legs were very weake, having had (as was thought) ſome foul play in his youth, or rather before he was born, that he was not able to ſtand at ſeven years of age, that weakneſſe made him ever leaning on other mens ſhoulders, his walke was ever circular, his fingers ever in that walke fidling about his Cod-

piece: He was very temperate in his exercises, and in his dyet, and not intemperate in his drinking, however in his old age, and *Buckinghams* joviall Suppers, when he had any turne to doe with him, made him sometimes overtaken, which he would the very next day remember, and repent with teares; it is true, he dranke very often, which was rather out of a custom then any delight, and his drinks were of that kind for strength, as Frontiniack, Canary, High Country wine, Tent Wine, and Scottish Ale, that had he not had a very strong brain, might have daily been overtaken, although he seldom drank at any one time above four spoonfulls, many times not above one or two; He was very constant in all things (his Favourites excepted) in which he loved change, yet never cast down any (he once raised) from the height of greatnesse, though from their wonted neatnesse, and privacy; unlesse by

by their own default, by oppoſing his change, as in *Somerſets* caſe: yet had he not been in that foul poyſoning buſineſs; and ſo caſt down himſelf; I do verily beleeve not him neither; for al his other Favorites he left great in Honour, great in Fortune; and did much love *Mountgomery*, and truſted him more at the very laſt gaſpe, then at the firſt minute of his Favoriteſhip: In his Dyet, Apparrell, and Journeys, he was very conſtant; in his Apparrell ſo conſtant, as by his good wil he would never change his cloathes untill worn out to very ragges: His Faſhion never: Inſomuch as one bringing to him a Hat of a *Spaniſh* Block, he caſt it from him, ſwearing he neither loved them nor their faſhions. Another time, bringing him Roſes on his Shooes, he asked, if they would make him a ruffe-footed-Dove? one yard of ſix penny Ribbond ſerved that turn: His Dyet and Journies was ſo conſtant, that the beſt obſerving Courtier of

our time was wont to say, were he asleep seven yeares, and then awakened, he would tell where the King every day had been, and every dish he had had at his Table.

Hee was not very uxorious, (though he had a very brave Queen that never crossed his designes, nor intermedled with State affaires, but ever complyed with him (even against the nature of any, but of a milde spirit) in the change of Favourites;) for he was ever best, when furthest from his Queene, and that was thought to be the first grounds of his often removes, which afterwards proved habituall. He was unfortunate in the marriage of his Daughter, and so was all Christendome besides; but sure the Daughter was more unfortunate in a Father, then he in a Daughter: He naturally loved not the sight of a Souldier, nor of any valiant man; and it was an observation that Sir *Robert Mansell* was the only valiant man

man he ever loved, and him he loved so intirely, that for all *Buckinghams* great neſſe with the King, and his hatred of Sir *Robert Manſell*, yet could not that alienate the Kings affections from him; inſomuch as when by the inſtigation of *Cottington* (then Embaſſadour in *Spaine*) by *Buckinghams* procurement, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour came with a great complaint againſt Sir *Robert Manſell*, then at *Argiers*, to ſuppreſſe the Pirats, That he did ſupport them; having never a friend there, (though many) that durſt ſpeake in his defence, the King himſelfe defended him in theſe words: *My Lord Embaſſadour, I cannot beleeve this, for I made choyce my ſelfe of him, out of theſe reaſons; I know him to be valiant, honeſt, and Nobly deſcended as moſt in my Kingdome, and will never beleeve a man thus qualified will doe ſo baſe an act.* He naturally loved honeſt men, that were not over active, yet never loved any man heartily untill he had

had bound him unto him by giving him ſome ſuite, which he thought bound the others love to him again; but that argued a poore diſpoſition in him, to beleeve that any thing but a Noble minde, ſeaſoned with vertue, could make any firme love or union, for mercinary mindes are carried away with a greater prize, but Noble mindes, alienated with nothing but publick diſgraces.

He was very witty, and had as many ready witty jeſts as any man living, at which he would not ſmile himſelfe, but deliver them in a grave and ſerious manner: He was very liberall, of what he had not in his owne gripe, and would rather part with 100. *li.* hee never had in his keeping, then one twenty ſhillings peece within his owne cuſtody: He ſpent much, and had much uſe of his Subjects purſes, which bred ſome claſhings with them in Parliament, yet would alwayes come off, and end with a ſweet and plauſible

cloſe;

close; and truly his bounty was not discommendable, for his raising Favourites was the worst: Rewarding old servants, and releiving his Native Country-men, was infinitely more to be commended in him, then condemned. His sending Embassadours, were no lesse chargeable then dishonourable and unprofitable to him and his whole Kingdome; for he was ever abused in all Negotiations, yet hee had rather spend 100000. li. on Embassies, to keep or procure peace with dishonour, then 10000. li. on an Army that would have forced peace with honour: He loved good Lawes, and had many made in his time, and in his last Parliament, for the good of his Subjects, and suppressing Promoters, and progging fellowes, gave way to that *Nullum tempus, &c.* to be confined to 60. yeares; which was more beneficiall to the Subjects in respect of their quiets, then all the Parliaments had given him during his whole

whole Reign. By his frequent Sermons he appeared Religious, (in his Tuesday Sermons (if you will beleeve his owne Country-men, that lived in those times when they were erected, and well understood the cause of erecting them) were dedicated for a strange peece of devotion.

He would make a great deale too bold with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one straine higher vergeing on blasphemie; But would in his better temper say, he hoped God would not impute them as sins, and lay them to his charge, seeing they proceeded from passion: He had need of great assurance, rather then hope, that would make daily so bold with God.

He was very crafty and cunning in petty things, as the circumventing any great man, the change of a Favourite, &c. insomuch as a very wise man was wont to say, he be-

leeved

eved him the wisest foole in Christendome, meaning him wise in small things, but a foole in weighty affaires.

He ever desired to prefer meane men in great places, that when he turned them out again, they should have no friend to bandy with them: And besides, they were so hated by being raised from a meane estate, to over-top all men, that every one held it a pretty recreation to have them often turned out: There were living in this Kings time, at one instant, two Treasurers, three Secretaries, two Lord Keepers, two Admiralls, three Lord chief Justices, yet but one in play, therefore this King had a pretty faculty in putting out and in: By this you may perceive in what his wisdome consisted, but in great and weighty affaires even at his wits end.

He had a trick to couzen himselfe with bargains under hand, by taking 1000. *li.* or 10000. *li.* as a bribe, when

when his Counsell was treating with his Customers to raise them to so much more yearly; this went into his Privy purse, wherein hee thought hee had over-reached the Lords, but cousened himselfe; but would as easily breake the bargaine upon the next offer, saying, he was mistaken and deceived, and therefore no reason he should keep the bargaine; this was often the case with the Farmers of the Customes; He was infinitely inclined to peace, but more out of feare then conscience, and this was the greatest blemish this King had through all his Reign, otherwise might have been ranked with the very best of our Kings, yet sometimes would hee shew pretty flashes of valour which might easily be discerned to be forced, not naturall; and being forced, could have wished, rather, it would have recoiled backe into himselfe, then carryed to that King it had concerned, least he might have been put

put to the tryall, to maintaine his seeming valour.

In a word, he was (take him altogether and not in peeces) such a King, I wish this Kingdom have never any worse, on the condition, not any better; for he lived in peace, dyed in peace, and left all his Kingdomes in a peaceable condition, with his owne Motto:

Beati Pacifici.

NOw having brought this peaceable King to rest in all peace, the 27th. of *March*, his Son, by the sound of the Trumpet, was proclaimed King, by the name of CHARLES the FIRST.

His Fathers Reign began with a great Plague, and we have seen what his Reign was; his Sons with a greater Plague, and the greatest that ever was in these parts; we shall see what his Reign will be, and the effects of this plague have also hung as a fatall commet over this Kingdome, in some parts, and over *London* in more particular, ever since: and we earnestly pray we may not fall into the hands of men, but rather, ever with that divinely inspired royall Prophet *David*, that we fall into the hand of the Lord (for his mercies are great.)

This King was not Crowned with that

that ſolemnity all other Kings have formerly been, by riding through the City in all ſtate, although the ſame Triumphs were provided for him, as ſumptuous as for any other; this, ſome have taken as an ill omen: Its further reported (which I will not beleeve) that he tooke not the uſuall Oath all our Kings were bound unto at their Coronation; and its to be read in *Covells* book, if ſo, ſure its a worſe omen.

One more obſervation is, of this King, which I remember not to have happened in any other Kingdom, I am confident never in this; That with him did alſo riſe his Fathers Favourite, and in much more glory and luſter then in his Fathers time; as if he were no leſſe an inheritor of his Sons favours, than the Sonne of the Fathers Crowne, and this, as it happened, was the worſt omen of all; for, whereas in the Fathers time, there was ſome kinde of moderation, by reaſon he was weary of

the insolency of his Favourite; in the sons time, he reigned like an impetuous storme, bearing downe all before him that stood in his way, and would not yeeld to him or comply with him: This shewed no Heroicall or Kingly spirit, for the King ever to endure him that had put such scornes and insolent affronts on him in his fathers time.

This King (as his Father did set in peace) did rise like a *Mars*, as if he would say, *Arma virumq; cano*, and to that end, to make himselfe more formidable to *Spaine* and *France*, he called a Parliament, wherein never Subjects expressed more hearty affections to a Soveraigne; and in truth, were more loving then wise, for, as if for an income to welcome him, they gave him two intire Subsidies, and in so doing they brake the very foundation and priviledges of Parliament, which never was wont to give Subsidies but as a thankfull gratuity for en-

enacting good Lawes, therefore it is but Gods justice to repay them with Talion Lawes, to have their Privilledges broken, seeing they first chalked out the way. The King in requitall of this great love of theirs, did instantly dissolve the Parliament, which hath bred such ill blood in the veines of the Subjects to their Sovereign, and in the Sovereign to the Subject, that it is like to produce an epidemicall infection.

But the occasion taken to dissolve it was worst of all, for, *Buckingham*, by his insolent behaviour, had not onely lost that love his hatred to *Spaine* had procured him, but was now growne into such an hatred that they fell on him for the death of his old Master, which had been of a long time before but whispered; but now, the Examinations bred such confessions, that it looked with an ugly deformed poysonous countenance, and nothing but the dissolution of that Parliament could

have ſaved his diſſolution and that with a brand of ſhame and infamy, as well as of ingratitude.

I remember I heard a noble Gentleman, an old Parliament man, of that Committee for Examinations ſay, at firſt he derided the very thought of it; but, after the firſt dayes Examination it proved ſo foule, as that he both hated and ſcorned the name and memory of *Buckingham*; and though man would not puniſh it, God would, which proved an unhappy prediction.

This diſſolving the Parliament was ill reliſhed by the people, and that which to them did ſeeme the cauſe, worſe, and to make the caſe yet fouler, and that it muſt needs be the evident cauſe; *Buckinghams* Counſels were ſo ſtupid and himſelf ſo inſolent, that he did thinke it a glory to diſgrace all thoſe that followed that buſineſſe, in that Parliament, or that ſeemed inquiſitive thereafter; and cauſed many old Ser-

Servants of the Kings, he formerly favoured very much, to be banished from Court, never to returne more, nor did they ever, as *Clare*, *Crofts*, Sir *Fra. Stewart*, *&c.* nay Dr. *Cragg*, his Phisitian, who from his very childhood, had the generall repute of a very honest man, for expressing himselfe like an honest man in the Kings presence, was instantly dismissed, never could recover his place or favour more.

Now also is *Williams*, Lord Keeper turned out of his place, and *Coventry* the Kings Atturney put in, who (had *Buckingham* lived) had as soon followed in the same steps.

Then goes *Buckingham* into *France* on a stately Embassie for that Lady the King had seen, and set an affection on in his passage to *Spaine*, which was obtained with small intreaty.

Now doth *Buckingham* soare so high both in his Masters favours and in the prideof his own heart, as he alters all great Officers, makes war

againſt *Spaine* and *France*, the quarrel only his, vorced to be on ſtrange grounds, the ſucceſſe accordingly: Navies, Armies, and nothing but war appeares, as if we intended in ſhew to conquer all that oppoſed. Lord *Wimbleton* the Generall, from whom as little could be expected, as he performed, carrying a powerfull Army to *Cales*, after an infinite expence, and drinking much *Spaniſh* Wines, and beating out the heads of what they could not drinke, (as if they intended to overthrow that yeares trade of *Spaniſh* Wine) returned as like a valiant Commander, as he ever was reputed; whereas, had he brought home thoſe waſted Wines, it may be they would have defrayed the charge of that expedition.

After the returne of that wiſe Pageantiſme, *Denbigh* is ſent into *France* to aide *Rochell*, who managed it better then his great Kinſman, *Buckingham*, who would afterwards needs

needs goe, to doe great exploits, for he brought his ſhips and men ſafe againe, the other left his men in powdering tubs, as if he meant to have them kept ſweet againſt his next comming thither: In ſhort, this unhappy voyage loſt all the honour our glorious anceſtors had ever gotten over that Nation, there being ſo many brave gentlemen wilfully loſt, as if that voyage had been on purpoſe plotted to diſable our Nation, by taking away ſo many gallant brave young ſpirits; ſo many of our Colours loſt, as Trophies of their Victory, and of our ſhame, hung up in *Noſtredame* Church, that the brave *Talbot*, and *Salisbury*, with many other our valiant Anceſtors, will riſe up in Judgement againſt him, for that every way inglorious Act. Nay, to how low an ebbe of honour was this our poore deſpicable Kingdome brought, that (even in Queene *Elizabeths* time the glory of the World,) a great Noble-

man, being taken prisoner, was freely released with this farewell given with him, that they desired but two English Mastieffes for his Ransome!

But the King by that unnecessary and dishonourable War, was driven to that exigency for want of money, that he was forced to pawn his rich Cupboard of Plate to *Amsterdam*, and to send *Cottington* into *Spain* (in a manner) to beg a peace, which having obtained, it was thought so great a service of him, that it railed him to all his Honor and Fortunes.

Yet (all the while) *Rochell* in sharpe distresse was left unrelieved, although otherwise intended, or but pretended rather. For the Courting betwixt the Duke and the Governour of the Isle of *Ree*, in sending complements and Presents to each other, shewed rather an intimate dearnesse, then any hostility to be meant between them. And sure I am, the successe made it apparent, that

that their purpoſe was no better than to carry ſo many goodly Gentlemen, to the Slaughter-houſe, and Powdering-Tub (as even now I inſtanced.)

Yet was the King ſo content to be abuſed, as publickly at his Dinner he delivered it for a miracle, that having ſuch ill ſucceſſe, there were ſo few men loſt, for that as many came home as went forth (as appeared by the Chequer-Rol) within five hundred. At which a Gentleman (whoſe faithfull Valour prompted him to ſpeake a truth in ſeaſon, though theirs did not them to fight) ſtanding at the back of the Kings chair, ſaid, yea, Sir, as you hear, that hear very little of Truth: But if you pleaſe to inquire of ſuch as can and dare informe you truly, you ſhall find many thouſands fewer came home then went forth: For which relation this honeſt Tell-troth was commanded preſently from his Court-Attendance, which doom he never could

could get reverſt, wherein you may behold the Power of *Buckingham* with the King, whoſe Word ſtood for a Law.

Which Power of his, grew now ſo exorbitant, he aſpires to get higher Titles both in Honour and Place, as, Prince of *Tipperary* (a place ſo called in *Ireland*) and Lord High Conſtable of *England* (an Office aimed at by that Monſter, and Machivillian, *Leiceſter*, in Queen *Elizabeths* time, but he therein was croſſed and contradicted by the then Lord Chancellour *Hatton*) now affected by *Buckingham*, who herein wrote after *Leiceſters* ambitious example but he croſſed too (by Preſident) with *Coventry* now Lord Keeper, and no queſtion but upon thoſe juſt grounds his Predeceſſor did: For, you muſt underſtand, this Office hath an Authority annexed unto it, to call any Subject in queſtion for his life, by trying, condemning and executing him, in deſpight of the King him-

himſelfe. Nay, ſome have made no bones on't to affirme, that (for miſgovernment) the King himſelfe is not exempted from that Officers Power; Politickly therefore did the aforementioned *Hatton* (who well underſtood the validity of ſuch a Power) when *Leiceſters* Commiſſion was in diſpute) to tel the Queen that *his own hand ſhould never ſtrike off his own head*; which word was enough to her who was hereat ſo wiſe as alſo in all other matters of State-concernment, wherein as ſhe were hinted to a fore-ſight of any prejudice, ſhe knew how to prevent it. And thus that ended in his time.

But *Buckinghams* ambition would not be ſo bounded; For, upon the oppoſing it by *Coventry*, he peremptorily thus accoſted him, ſaying, who made you, *Coventry*, Lord Keeper? he replyed, the King; *Buckingham*, ſur-replyed, Its falſe, 'twas I did make you, and you ſhall know that I, who made you, can, and will unmake

make you. *Coventry* thus answered him; Did I conceive I held my Place by your Favour, I would presently unmake my selfe, by rendring the Seale to his Majesty. Then *Buckingham* in a scorn and fury flung from him, saying, you shall not keep it long. And, surely, had not *Felton* prevented him, he had made good his Word.

And before that hapned, *Weston* was, by his power, & for his ends, made Treasurer, it should seem, upon some assurance from him, that he would find ways where-out to raise monys into the Treasury (he judging him to be one that out of his own necessitous condition would adventure on any desperate projection to raise himself, but yet withall to fill the Chequer Coffers) who was no sooner warmed in his Office, but hee began to shew his inbred base disposition to his Rayser, *Buckingham*, as formerly he had don to *Cranfield*, who was indeed his preserver from perishing in

a Prison, whence he redeemed him, making him a free partaker first of his bounteous Table, then raising him shortly after to be Chancellour of the Exchequer; who at length, for requitall, supplanted him. But for all this, *Buckingham* feared not, his high spirit in himselfe and vast Power with the King were so predominant and unmoveable: He now therefore used at his owne pleasure to come to the Counsell Table (he being then honoured as the Oracle from whom they gaped for all Answers) but ever made them wait his comming, and were so tutored to their duteous observance of him, that at his approach or returning thence, they ever must rise as if he had been the King himselfe. (So that you may see to what a pretty passe those great men by their poor spirits had brought themselves.)

But on a time, there issued this amongst other passages of insolencies from *Buckingham*, who comming

ming into the Councell, without any other Court-preface, sayes to the Treasurer *Weston*, *My Lord, the King must have* 60000*l. provided against to morrow morning*. The Lords startled at the mention of such a sum (the whole Exchequer not having seen within its keeping scarce 1000*l.* in many yeares) and could not imagine how, unlesse by the Philosophers stone, such a sum was possible to be gotten, but yet all looking on *Weston* (to whom it was in this case proper to make answer) who bethought himselfe what to say (the rest every one, the while, gazing at each other, another while againe all at *Weston*, as a man of great wisdome, for so was hee accounted (of a Plebejan.) At length, up he stands, and thus he answers *Buckingham*; *My Lord, The Exchequer is in a deep consumption*. Whereat *Buckingham* interrupts him, saying, *How, Sir! You came in to cure that Consumption, and to restore it to its*

use.

uſefull plenitude. I remember you promiſed (like a Mountebanke) when you were to be inveſted by the King, you would do ſo, therefore, Sir, ſee you the money be provided, otherwiſe you ſhall bear further of it. With that high ſtrain hee roſe up and departed.

Now, are all ways indeavoured to get mony from the Subjects, which was not to be gotten by fair means, the King having tryed all the ſhifts which any former Prince (out of the Parliamentary way) had ever don, and had great ſums brought in, ſuch as none of his Predeceſſors ever had; of which, one was the Royall Subſidy, every man lending as much as the ſumme in the Subſidy towards which he was aſſeſſed: as if (for example) aſſeſſed at 40. *li.* beſides ſo much payd, he lent alſo 40. *li.* and ſo from the leaſt to the greateſt proportions aſſeſſed.

Yet all this would not ſerve him, but that quickly vaniſhed, then all other faire meanes proving (as was thought

thought for their profuſeneſſe) too ſcant and ſlow; Force then muſt be the laſt remedy; the King muſt keep ſtanding Garriſons to awe his good Subjects, and they conſiſting too of ſtrangers not of Natives, To that end, one *Dalbier* (that had been Generall of Count *Mansfield* Horſe) is dealt with for the raiſing of 1000 or 2000 *German* Horſe, the moſt whereof to bee quartered betwixt *Graveſend* and *London*; For advancing of which ſervice, Sir *William Balfore* (as great a Servant and Confident he is now of this Parliament) was ſent to *Hamborough* with 30000 *l.* to buy and to bring over thoſe Horſe with their impreſſed Riders, and Furniture, but many of them ready to bee imbarked, it ſhould ſeeme they were told by the way, by ſome well affected to *England*, that the King had not mony to continue them in Pay; and Plunder they could not there, for they ſhould be ſo invironed with Sea,

Sea, that there was no flying, but they must expect to have all their throats cut, if they took any thing from any man: Upon which, those Rascals, out of feare, not conscience, refused to come over. However, *Balfore* so wel lickt his fingers in that employment, as that he therewith laid the foundation of his future fortunes; yet, if this Parliament consider well this action of his, there is no reason he should be so deare unto them: For, of any thing yet toucht upon against any man by this Parliament, I dare affirme this (of his) to be the greatest peece of villany, and to be the neareſt way to render us all slaves, and to make us have neither propriety in our Estates, Wives, nor Children. And yet was this *Balfore* a principall undertaker, and actor in this pernicious designe, and (perhaps for that very cause) the greatest creature of *Buckinghams* that ever was.

In this intervall, their shifts not

avayling them; (to see therefore if by this faire means their ends might be obtained) another Parliament was summoned, wherein after some expostulations on both sides, there proved no better a good speed and successe then a meere frustration of all hopes on both hands; which for the Kings part, hee apprehended with so great averseness; that, as 'twas said, he made a vow never to call more Parliaments.

Forreigne Forces, and fraudulent and faire devices home-spun, failing all; now must Projects in all their variegated inventions bee set on foot; to which sage (or rather rufull) purpose, one *Noy*, a very famous Lawyer as ever this Kingdome bred, and (formerly) a great Patriot, and the only searcher of Presidents for the Parliaments; by which he grew so cunning as he understood all the shifts which former Kings had used to get monies with.

This man the King sends for, tels him, he wil make him his Attorney *Noy* (like a true Cynick as he was) for that time went away, not returning to the King so much as the civility of a Thankes; nor, indeed, was it worth his thankes, I am sure he was not worthy of ours. For, after the Court sollicitings had bewitched him to become the Kings, he grew the most hatefull man that ever lived, And its to me a wonder, that *this Parliament of Wonders* doth not enact a Law, that his very name should never more be in this Kingdome, he having been as great a Deluge to this Realme, as the Flood was to the whole World: for, he swept away all our Priviledges, and in truth hath been the cause of all these miseries this kingdome hath since been ingulphed; whether you consider our Religion, (he being a great Papist, if not an Atheist) and the protector of all Papists, and the raiser of them up

unto that boldneſſe they were now growne unto; who formerly had ſome moderation) or, if you conſider our Eſtates and Liberties, they were impoveriſhed and enthralled by multitudes of projects, and illegall wayes; this Monſter was the ſole Author of all.

But firſt, now becauſe there muſt be ſome great man (as a Captaine Projector) to lead ſome on, and hearten others to follow, Sir *George Goring* leads up the March and Dance with the Monopolie of Tobacco, and Licenſing of Tavernes, ſetting ſome up, where, and as many as he pleaſed, and this done by a Seale appendicular to an Office erected by him for that purpoſe, as if authoriſed by a Law; beſides all this, hee hath Penſions out of the pretermitted Cuſtoms: inſomuch as I have heard it moſt credibly reported, that his Revenue was 9000. *l. per annum*, all of theſe kindes; and for this peece of good

ſervice he was made a Lord, and Privy Councellour, to countenance his traine of Projectors the better.

Then did *Weſton* enhance the Cuſtomes, and laid new and heavyer impoſitions on all things exported or imported; with ſuch unconſcionable rates upon Tobacco, that millions of pounds of it lay rotting in the Cuſtome-houſe (the Merchants refuſing to pay the Cuſtome) beſides loſſe of all other charges for the Tobacco it ſelfe. In ſhort, there was not any thing (almoſt) that any man did eate, drinke, or weare, or had in his houſe from forraigne parts, or ſcarce any domeſticke commodities exempted, but he paid as it were, an Exciſe for it; yea, at laſt, even Cards and Dice eſcaped not, but they were monopolized by a great Councellour, the Lord *Cottington*: yea, (to keep their hands in ure) they got Patents for the very Rags, Marrow-bones, Guts, and ſuch like Excrements, as were

thought of no use but to be cast on the Dunghils; and he was held the braveſt Common wealths man that could bring in the moſt money, (yet, the Kings private Purſe, or publick Treaſury little or nothing bettered, but) to impoveriſh and vex the Subject, and to no other end, for which he was ordinarily rewarded with honour.

This good ſervice (the quite contrary way) did *Weſton* and *No* doe for the King; and, I beleeve you ſhall ſee God reward them and their poſterity; for the one, like a *Jonas* Gourd ſprang up ſuddenly from a beggerly eſtate to much Honour, and great Fortunes, will ſhortly wither; the other, his Son and Heire was killed in *Prance*, preſently after his death, and when both are dead, let their names and memory rot, and be extinct from the face of the earth.

Now doth *Buckingham* provide for another forraigne Enterpriſe, (but

(but carried so close, I could never learne what it was; nor did any wise men much inquire after it, assuring themselves that such counsells could produce no better effects than those former.) In the beginning, yea even at the very entrance thereunto, he did so stinke in the Nostrils of God and Man, that God made one *Felton* his Instrument to take such a Monster (as he was indeed) from his longer domineering amongst men, by a blow as fearefull as strange, after which he had not time to say, *Lord have mercy on him*; a just judgement on him that forsooke God, to seeke to the Devill by Witches, and Sorcerers in his life; one whereof was Doctor *Lamb* (who was his great defensitive preserver as he thought him) whose fate it was to be brained by a Shoo-makers Last when he least look'd for it; the other was stabb'd the next morning after that night he had caused a Fellow to be han-

ged (not suffering him to have that nights respite (after his sentence, and offence (what ere it was) to repent him of his sins) with this vow, *he would neither eate nor drinke until he see him dye*; God, in requitall of his mercilesse cruelty, would nether suffer him to eate nor drinke before he dyed, by that dismall stroake of a poore tenpenny knife, of the said *Felton* setting home. Thus neare alike in time and manner were these two hellish Agents Catastrophees. And now is set that great Sun (or rather portendous Comet) from whose influences all the Officers and Ministers had by reflexion their life and heat.

After his death, the very name of a Favourite dyed with him, none singly engrossing the Kings care and favour; but, a regular motion was set to all Officers, as appertained to their severall places; as, to the Arch-Bishop, the mannagement and chiefe super-intendency of the Church,

Church, to the Lord Treasurer, the Exchequer and the Customs; to the Lords, Keepers of the Great and Privie Seales, what belonged to equity; to the Judges, what belonged to Law, so that (one would have thought) all things now went so just and equall, and in their proper Channell, as none but might now expect from that new and better government halcyon dayes.

But, it far'd farre otherwise, (God being angry at the Nations sins, the generall juggling of the State was one, and a great one) all those procedures being but in appearance, righteous, nothing really so: but, like the Apples of *Sodome*, faire in shew, rotten and corrupt within. For, now instead of the late (but one) Favourite, every great Officer, and Lord of the Councell proved a very Tyrant; and it appeared, that not their vertues, but the former Favourites power only did restraine them from being so; for,

for, that falling (together with himselfe, as you have heard,) and they left to their owne Arbitrary power; you would verily have beleeved that Hell had been broke loose: And to make good that Metaphor, one of the Councell being told by a Gentleman, that the country was much troubled at a certaine great grievance, replyed, *Doth that trouble them? by God, there are seaven worse Devills to be shortly let out amongst them.* And (in sober sadnesse) they all might truly have undergone the name of *Legion*, for, they were all *many Devills*, and (like true Devills) tooke pleasure in tormenting. So that hereby may be perceived, the Kingdome in generall had no benefit (though some particular men, as *Weston* Treasurer, *Coventry* Lord Keeper, and all such as paid his beggerly kindred Pensions, which now were ceased) by this mans death, whose purpose 'twas to have turn'd out of place both *Coventry*

cantry and *Weston*, (before his last intended voyage.) But, now did *Weston* begin to be more cruell in Pride and Tyranny than *Buckingham* had been before him, and, (had not the Arch-Bishop (*Laud*) ballanced him) he would have been more insufferable. He cheated the King in the sale of Timber, and of Land, and in the letting of his Customs, the Arch-Bishop notwithstanding truly informing the King thereof; *Weston* was so mad at the thought of it, he would often say to his friends (in private) *That little Priest would Monopolize the Kings ears, for he was ever whispering to the King.*

And now begin the Councel-Table, the Star-Chamber, and High Commission to bee Scourges and Tortures of the Commonwealth, by Imprisonments, and Mutilations of Members; and were made, (some of them) by fines, the greatest incomes to the Exchequer; and, in truth, did now put down the Com-

mon

mon Laws deciding of *Meum* and *Tuum*. And if any (desiring to appeal from them) refused to stand there to their censures, they were committed untill they would submit thereunto. If men sent unto by them for money, refused it, they would imprison them till they would give or lend, and if any were summoned thither they had a mind to quarrell with, in whom they could not find a fault, they would make one, by saying, *the Gentleman laughs at us*: Or, the Gentleman saith thus, and thus; it may be that hee had not in his thought, and yet there should not want a false witnesse; for, some Lords that sat with their backs towards them, or so farre off that they could not heare, yet would testifie either the words or actions; or, for want of this, a Clerk of the Councell should bee called to witnesse, who, for his profit, must swear what any Lord said: If they hit not upon that trick, then some-

sometimes they would contrive to put a Gentleman into passion by calling him some disgracefull name, or by scoffing at him; so that, indeed, the Councell Table was growne more like a Pasquil then a grave Senate. But if the spirit of the man wer such, that he could not take those indignities without some regret, it was well for him, if he escaped with imprisonment, and not called *Ore tenus* to the Star-Chamber, and fined (as many were) to his undoing, for to that point were now the Fines of that Court risen.

As for the High Commission Court, that was a very (*Spanish*-like) Inquisition, in which all pollings and tyrannizings over our Estates and Consciences were practised, as were in the other over our Estates and Bodyes.

Then were the Judges so much their Servants or rather Slaves; that what ere they illegally put in execution, they found Law to maintaine. But

But, that which is a wonder above all wonders is, that *Coventry*, who formerly had gained the opinion of a just and honest man, was a principall in all these miscarriages, yet dyed he unquestioned; when, had his actions been scanned by a Parliament (in that they were not, you may see what opinion is, which in the multitude blindeth the understanding) he had been found as foul a man as ever lived.

Finch, a fellow (of an excellent tongue but not of one dram of Law, made (for all that) Cheife Justice of the Common-Pleas (the onely Court most learned in the Law; yet he brought all the learned Judges, except two only (*Hutton* and *Crook*) to be of his illegall opinion for shipmony. This surely, must be a punishment from God on them, and us for our sins, otherwise it had been impossible so many grave Judges should have been over-ruled by such a slight and triviall fellow.

Now

Now also all Officers in all places took what Fees they pleased, as if in a Jubilee; Amongst the rest those of the Star-Chamber, the Councell Table, and the High Commission were very Grandees: Yea, the very Messengers (to them) were countenanced in their abuse, and insultings over the Gentry (when in their clutches) and to such a strange passe were disorders come unto, that every Lacquey of those great Lords might give a Check-Mate to any Gentleman, yea, to any Country Nobleman, that was not in the Court favour.

And to fill full the measure of the times abounding iniquity, the Court Chaplines (and others elsewhere) with the Reverend Bishops themselves, did preach away our liberties and proprieties, yet kept they Divinity enough for their owne interests: for, they concluded, all was either Gods or the Kings, their part belonged to God, in which the

the King had no propriety. Our part belonged wholly to the King; in which we had propriety no longer, when the King were disposed to call for them, for that, betwixt the Law and the Gospel, we were ejected out of Lands, Liberties, and Lives at pleasure.

And now is Gods time come to visit with his Iustice; and behold it: For, the pit they digged for others they themselves are fallen into, for all their Honours, Lands and Liberties are a gasping (and the Iudges are but in very little better case) for, the Parliament will doe that to them by the Law, which they would have done to us by wresting the Gospel.

But, what needed all that joy for the death of *Buckingham*! Sith the times succeeding him, have been so infinitely beyond him in all oppression, as they are like to bring all manner of miseries both upon King & people: So that in truth, his Hydra's head

head being ſtruck downe, an hundred more inſtead thereof appeared, which never durſt, in his life time: And as he got much by Suites, ſo did *Weſton*, much, by cheating (yet all came out of the Subjects purſes) and *Coventry* (that ſo generally a reputed honeſt man) got ſuch an eſtate by Bribery and In-juſtice, that he is ſaid to have left a Family worth a Million; Which may commend his Wiſdome, but in no wiſe his Honeſty.

And now alſo dies *Weſton*, after he had firſt brought in (as, you may remember, I told you, himſelfe was by *Cranfield*) Sir *Thomas Wentworth* (after Earle of *Strafford*) the active manager of the State, and ſole Governour of the King.

This *Strafford*, without doubt, was the ableſt Miniſter that this Kingdome had ſince *Salisburies* time; and to ſpeak uprightly, there was not any but himſelfe worthy of that name, amongſt all the Kings Coun-

cell; yet, I am confident, by the weakneſſe of that Boord, his abilities in State affaires were judged more then they were; and beſides, that very word of Stateſ-man was now grown a ſtranger to our Nation: Nor was he as *Salisbury*, (or our ancient *Heroes*) a generall Stateſman, nor was it poſſible he ſhould be, he not having that breeding himſelfe: Nor kept he any upon his charge in forraigne parts for intelligence: Nor had he ſuch a Tutor as the other had of his Father (who was the moſt abſolute Stateſ-man in the world) whoſe very Papers (which were left to this *Salisbury*, and ſerved as ſo many rich Preſidents, and Inſtructors to him) were able (if wanting in abilities of his own) to make him an able Stateſ-man. But I held *Straffords* abilities to be more on this ſide, then beyond the Seas; yet, might he challenge the title of a good Patriot: And ſo indeed, he was, before he turned a Courtier;

After

After that, he converted his ſtudies, and endeavours, to make the King an abſolute Arbitrary Monarch, by ſcrewing up the Regall Prerogative to ſo high a ſtrain as hath made it crack; and by raiſing his Revenues ſo high that he made them fal; in which alſo his owne intereſt was concerned: For, he did neither ſerve God nor the King for nought. Nor would *Straffords* abilities have been ſo tranſparent, had any ſuch Concurrents as *Buckhurſt*, *Walſingham*, or *Hatton* been now living, or ſuch an one as the Earle of *Eſſex* (who was *Salisburies* Antagonift:) But this man had onely the Arch-Biſhop (whoſe proper Element too, was but the Church) and they drew both in one line. And here I ſhal give you one note of *Straffords* failing in his Maſter-piece, that he was no ſuch abſolute wiſe man (that could not find the juſt *Medium* of the peoples Temper) but by ſtriving to make the King all; and on a ſudden, he made

the King leſſe, and himſelfe leſſe then nothing. And, had he beene wiſe, he could not but find the Kings ſpirit was not to undergoe, nor to goe through with great actions, but would faile under them, and cruſh the owners: Which he to his lamentable experience hath found and felt too true. Beſides, I much doubt *Straffords* owne ſpirit, that, ſeeing his wiſdom was too ſhort to protect him, his ſpirit was ſo low to faile him, that hee did not, like *Sampſon*, pull downe the houſe upon others heads, but fall (like a tame foole) himſelfe alone, caught in a gin, and lay ſtill without any fluttering: When, ſurely, ſome others of the Cabinet Councell were as deep as himſelfe in any deſigne.

You have here now ſeene a great Subject, yea, the greateſt that ever our eyes beheld, that was no Favourite, and greater in his fortunes then many Favourites.

You

You haye alſo ſeen a King, the greateſt that our Nation ever had, both in Prerogative, Power, and Revenues, and the moſt abſolute over his Subjects; The one fallen below the earth, the other ſo low upon earth, that I wiſh I could but ſee him in the ſame ſtate his peaceable Father left him, who kept his Prerogative to the height, without cracking it, becauſe hee had able Miniſters and Councellors left, who were of Queen *Elizabeths* ſtocke; but this Kings Miniſters ſtraine all ſo high, that the very ligaments, and nerves of Sovereignty are quite broken in ſunder; I wiſh them well ſothered again.

But becauſe, if I write further, I muſt tune to a much lower key, I will here end with my prayers; *That, God would give the King a wiſe Councell, and an underſtanding heart to bee able to give himſelfe Councell what will be beſt for himſelfe, his Poſterity, and the people committed to*

his Charge: And that hee may discern such as counsell him for their own private ends, and interest, not for his Honour and Safety.

And here do I draw a Curtaine betwixt the time past, and that to come in this Kings Reign, desiring it may never be remembred to Posterity.

Observations

Observations (instead of a Character) upon this King, from his Childe-hood.

IT being improper to write the Character of Kings before their Deaths (I wish this were not much nearer the period of his happinesse than his death) give me therefore leave to present unto your view some remarkable observations of this unfortunate King.

In his very infancy; he was so subject to that wilfull humour (still possessing him) that if any thing crossed him, he could hardly be stilled; which then they were forced to give way unto, by reason of that extreame weaknesse which disabled him (as the like did his Father) untill the 7th. yeare

of his Age, to goe, or scarce to stand alone; crawling, (when of himselfe he would be in motion) upon all foure, in a most unseemly manner; For the recovery whereof, he was beholding to the skill of one Master *Stutavile*, an excellent Artist for strengthening Limbs, and straitning crooked Bodies; but, for the rectifying his wayward disposition, to the tender care of the Lady *Carey*, afterward Countesse of *Monmouth*.

This humour of his principally he tooke from his Mother, who notwithstanding was a gallant Lady; nor was he free from it by the Fathers side, though his timorous nature gave it an allay. His Mother (who loved him so dearly, that she said, she loved him as she did her Soul, yet) was wont to say, that she must with griefe of heart confesse, *He was a foole, and wilfull, which would hereafter endanger him the losse of his Crowne.*

A

A ſad Cenſure, yet it ſhould ſeeme Prophetical. But, it were a leſſon fit for all Parents learning, rather to leave their Children to Gods Providence, than to pry into his office of fore-knowledge.

He ever expreſt an ill nature, by taking delight to doe ill offices to his Fathers ſervants, as well as to his owne; witneſſe that inſtance concerning Maſter *Murrey* his Tutor, and Doctor *Hackwell* placed about him, to inſtruct him in the principles of Religion, who (rightly) judging it co-incident to that his employment, did therefore (upon the Treaty for the *Spaniſh* Match) deliver him a ſmall Treatiſe in Manuſcript, therein intimating his advice and judgement to informe his Conſcience aright, againſt coupling himſelfe with a Papiſt, ſaying to him, *Sir, I beſeech you make uſe of this, by reading it your ſelfe, but if you ſhew it to your Father, I ſhall*

be

be undone for my good will. The Prince returned him many thankes, and assured him, *it should never goe farther then the cabinet of his owne breast*; but withall, *he asked him, to whom he had shewed it? Hackwell* replyed, *the Arch-Bishop* (Abbot) *hath read it, who returning him it, said to him, Well done thou good and faithfull servant.* Besides him, he told the Prince, *he had only shewed it to Mr.* Murrey *the Tutor*, who belike being better acquainted with his Masters perfidious disposition then the other, did then dis-swade him from delivering it to the Prince, for, saith he, he will betray you. And it so fell out, for within lesse then two houres after his said engagement to the Doctor, he presents it to his Father; upon which, he, or any through whose hands and cognizance it had passed before, were all under a disgrace, and banished the Court (only *Murrey* was afterwards Provost of *Eaton*.)

Here

Here was an Embleme of his breach of Oathes, and protestations in future, and of his untrustinesse, which in a subject would have been called treachery.

Such a one too he shewed himselfe, in the businesse of *Rochell*; which, after his faire promises, and deep imprecations for their reliefe, and assistance, wherein they put some confidence, was meerly betrayed by him; insomuch that when the *Rochel* Agents found themselves abused through their whole yeares attendance, they left this bitter jeere upon him, that *now they could rightly call* England *the Land of Promise*.

He seldome loved any but to serve his turne, and would himselfe serve a turne to doe any mischiefe, as was to be seene by his saying Amen to every full point of *Buckinghams* Acculation in the face of the Parliament against *Bristol*, for his miscarriage in *Spaine*; when it ap-

appeared by *Briſtols* defence in Publick, before the face of that ſame Parliament, that there was not ſcarce one ſyllable had any truth in it; who alſo freely put himſelf upon the Teſt, that if there were any truth in that combined Accuſation againſt him, he would yeeld himſelfe guilty of it all.

He was of a very poore ſpirit, which may be conceived (amongſt other things) by his making *Buckingham* his Privado, after he came to the Crown; otherwiſe would he never have forgotten thoſe unſufferable inſolencies offered him being Prince, what they were you have already heard. His Predeceſſor *Henry* the fifth (and ſo his brother *Henry*) would have inſtructed him otherwiſe; for, although (its true) noble mindes ſhould forget injuries, ſo as not to revenge them, yet ſo, as not to countenance the doers of them, eſpecially to take them into

ſo

ſo much nearneſſe and dearneſſe as he did him after thoſe two proud affronts, which argued in him, as I ſaid before, a poore and ignoble ſpirit.

He had all his Kingdomes left in peace and tranquility by his Father, which he ſoone after made a ſhift to diſtemper by a fooliſh Warre upon *France* and *Spaine*, and by a more fooliſh conduct of either ignorant, unexperienced, or cowardly Commanders. And in truth, if you will give credit to *Vox populi*, (the Booke ſo called, written by one *Scot*) they were ſuitable to the grounds of ſuch Quarrels, being no fairer than the ſatisfying the beaſtly appetite of his Favourite, who muſt be reveng'd (forſooth) upon thoſe States. In which I admire Gods Juſtice, that he who unjuſtly made War upon unwarrantable grounds, ſhould have Warre thus brought home unto him; ſo that now God hath

hath given him the same measure he hath met to others, even full, prest down, and running over.

I wish I may have a time to give him a fairer Character when he is dead, then are my observations in his life; but I may rather wish then hope, in that course he yet continues.

Certaine

Certaine observations before Queene Elizabeths *death.*

I Cannot but admire Gods Providence in bringing Peace, when nothing was thought of but War; and now bringing a cruell Warre, when nothing could be expected but peace: Peace with all forraigne Estates, peace at Home. Not long before the death of Queene *Elizabeth* all the discourse was in a secret whispering, on whom the Succession would fall; some said, the Lady *Arabella*, some the King of *Scotland*, and reason given *pro* and *con* on both sides; they who were for her, saying, the Lady *Arabella* was a Native, and a Maid, and that this Kingdome never flourished more then

then under a Maidens Reigne: Others for the *Scot*, ſaid, that the King of *Scots* was more neare to the Crowne by deſcent; farther off ſay others, as being a Stranger, and that Nation ever in Hoſtility againſt us. Nor did the King himſelfe beleeve he ſhould have come in with a ſheathed Sword, which appeared by that Letter he produced of the Earle of *Northumberlands*, that if he made any doubt hereof, he would bring him forty thouſand Catholicks ſhould conduct him into *England*. But, the Queene dyed, the King comes in peaceably, even to the admiration of all Forraigne Princes, and to the gnaſhing of their teeth; but, the reaſon was, they had lived in obedience under a juſt Sovereigne, who was wont ever to ſay, when any great man had oppreſt a poore Gentleman that Petitioned her for redreſſe againſt ſuch oppreſſion, when all the great Lords and

and Officers would hold together to ſupport the Suppreſſor, and trample upon the oppreſſed: *My Lords* (quoth ſhe) *content you, I am Queene of the Valleys as well as of the Hills, and I muſt not ſuffer the Hills to ore-top, nor yet to over-ſhade the Valleys.*

A worthy ſaying, which if it had been imitated by her Succeſſors, theſe our miſeries had never happened; but, I ſay (and this is it I now drive at) her Juſtice made her Subjects to beleeve there could be no injuſtice in Monarchy; and that was it did facilitate the Kings peaceable entrance. In that tranquility did the Kingdome continue all his dayes, and about fifteen yeares of his Sons Reign: when behold, there was nothing but jollity in the Court, as if ſaying to themſelves, Who dares moleſt us? the King having now a plentifull Iſſue; for, let me tell you, the Kings Iſſue made Him

and his Courtiers the more to trample on the country Gentry. But behold, when nothing but peace, peace, ſudden deſtruction came on them, and us unawares; and God ſends ſuch a War as no man could dreame of Now the corollary of all is this, the high injuſtice of Church and State was the cauſe of this Warre. And, O, may not the continuing of that, in any other Government prove the continuance of this war! there being a farre greater appearance of the continuance thereof then ever there was of the beginning:

But, Gods will be done.

The

The Contents.

Queene Elizabeth *died at* Richmond house, *on* March 24. 1602. page 1,2

The first that carryed newes thereof into Scotland, *was Sir* Rob. Carew *who was afterward made Governour of the Kings then second Son* Charles Duke of York. p.2,3

The first man imployed from Scotland *to the* English *Nobility for preparation of the Kings comming into* England, *was Sir* Roger Aston. p.4

He was afterwards made (*from the Kings Barbar*) *gentleman of his Bed-Chamber.* p.6

The Kings Favourites.

1 *Sir* George Hewme *a kind of Favourite for having been of some secret councels with the King whilst in* Scotland, *the cheife of which, was that of* Gouries *Conspiracy.* p.7,

2 *Sir* Robert Cicill *a Favourite.* p.

His ill offices he did this Nation. p.1

His Herodian *disease, and end.* p.1

3,4, Hen. Howard & Tho. Howard *Favorites.* p.1

The principall managers of the State affaires in England *then, were* Salisbury, Suffolke, &c. p.1

5 *Mr.* James Hay *an high Favourite, &c. See his ri &c.* p.17,18,1

Passages concerning Sir Walter Rawleigh. p.27, &c

A notable discovery made by Sir Rob. Mansel *of a* Spaniards *stealing plate, which cleared the false imputation laid by them on the* English, p. 40. &c.
The King easily perswaded to retire himself, by those Managers of the State, of which Salisbury *was the chief* p. 46. 47. 48
Secretary Lake, p. 49. &c.
Salisbury, Suffolk, & Northampton *great getters, more then the whole bunch of the* Scots, Dunbar *exacted.* p. 54
Kelly, Annandale, *and* Carliſle *vaſt conſumers, eſpecially* Carliſle, *of what they got.* ibid.
Montgomery *for a time a Favourite,* p. 56. *Upon whose wane, after a contention between the* English, *and* Scots, *out of whether Nation the next Favourite should come,* Car *arose a Favourite.* p. 57
How tended, and tendred by the King, when, in a Tilting with the Lord Dingwel, *he had broke his leg,* p. 58
Sir Tho. Overbury *taken into great favor by* Car. p. 59
Salisbury, *and* Suffolk *in favour of this new Favourite, regardfull of his Creature* (Overbury) *are both used by him, yet through his insolency, both neglected,* p. 60
Northamptons *plot upon* Overbury *for his scorn of him.* ib
Overbury, *a tart reprover of* Somerset, *concerning* (Suffolks *daughter*) Eſſex's *wife.* p. 62
He is therefore plotted against, to be removed out of the way on an Embaſſy to France, *or upon refuſal &c.* p. 64
Being committed to the Tower, he was there poysoned.

See the foulenesse of that businesse. p.65, &c.
After that, Somerset *marrys the Lady, in which matter was seen the high corruption of the chew times,* p.70 &c
In this Favourites time came over the Palsgrave, *and married the Kings daughter, the La.* Elizabeth, p.76
Shortly after, Prince Henry *dyed.* ib.
His death foretold by Bruce, *banished therefore by* Salisbury, *who died in* May, *the Prince in* November *following,* p.78
Ingram *and* Cranfield, *Projectors made use of in Court, but, like Projectors as they were, kept under by* Somerset, *which were more highly regarded by the after Favourite,* p.80,81. *which was*
8 *Favourite, Mr.* George Villers. p.82
Zouch, Goring, Fiott, *and* Millicent *the Court fooles (as well as* Archee *) with whose jollity this Favourite was ushered in,* p.84,85.
Winwood *brought in Secretary of State by* Somerset *and by him unworthily used, ruined him by discovering the poysoning of* Overbury. p.86,&c.
It being made publickly known unto the King. See, his (seeming) serious charge upon the Judges for their impartiall sifting out, and punishing the Complotters thereof, in p.92
The Kings dissimulation to Somerset. p.95
Who by a device of Sir George Moores *(after* Elways *Lieutenant of the Tower) was tamely led from the Tower to his Arraignment,* p.108, &c.
Mrs, Turner, Weston, Franklin, *and Sir* Gervase Elwayes *executed for that businesse,* p.113

This Favourite displaceth the wel-deserving Admirall (*the E. of* Nott.) *and gets that place to himself*, p.114
The next great Office his power reacheth at to dispose, is, Egertons *Lord Chancellorship, to whom he sends* Bacon *for the Seal*, p.115. *To whom* Buckingham *the Favourite sends a message*, p.116. *Whereto see his Answer*, p.117
Buckinghams *course to raise and maintain his kindred* p.119
Bacons *proud carriage so soon as made Lord Chancellor, the King being soon after gone to* Scotland, p.121
After him (*degraded for his bribery by a Parliament*) *comes* Williams, Dean *of* Westminster *Bishop of* Lincolne. p.127
Who was in bribery inferior to none. p.130
The Lord Treasurer (Suffolk) *being turned out, one of the afore named Projectors*, Cranfield, *was brought in by* Buckingham, p.131. *His censure in the House of Peers*, p.132
He and the Prince go into Spaine *disguised, and under the names of* Jack *and* Tom Smith. p.133
Taking their way by France, *the Prince eyed there that Lady whom he after married.* ib.
Through Buckinghams *miscarriages in* Spaine, *and his spleen against* Bristoll, *the Match with* Spain *was dissolved.* 133, &c.
The King now hates Buckingham. p.139
Buckingham *hates the King.* p.144
Which proved the Kings suggested cause, true, p.149
After which, his darke dealing with the King, See

a passage from one of the Kings Servants to the Duke, p. 161, 162
In the Court of King *Charles* beginning, p. 176. the observations are:
As his Fathers reigne began with a great Plague, His, with a greater, p. 176
He was not crowned with the wonted solemnity, nor took he the usuall Oath, p. 177
With him arose also his Fathers favourite, ib.
The first Parliament he called gave him two intire Subsidies, &c. p. 179
Buckingham *being questioned about the former Kings death, dissolved that Parliament.* ib.
Which was ill relished by the people, p. 180
Williams *the Lord Keeper turned out of his place, and* Coventry *put in*, p. 181
Buckingham *sent into* France, *for that Lady the King had seen there*, ib.
Through his instigation, the King prepares for a War against Spaine *and* France, p. 182
Wimbletons *unsuccessfull expedition in* Spaine, ib.
Denbigh *is sent to aide* Rochel, ib.
Buckinghams *losse of many brave Gentlemen in the* Isle of Rees *expedition*, p. 183. *Where comes in a large supplement which the former Edition of this Book had not.*
For these unjust Quarrels management, the King pawned his Plate to Amsterdam, p. 184
Cottington *sent to beg a peace with* Spaine, ib.
Rochels *reliefe not really performed*, ib.
Buckinghams *ambition after higher Titles and Offices*, p. 186. Weston

Weston (*after* Cranfield) *made Lord Treasurer* ...
Buckinghams *procurement*, p. 1...
Shifts to raise monies, p. 19...
Noy *made the Kings Attorney*, p. 19...
By whom many Projects were put in practise, p. 196
Buckingham *intending some great secret Designe abroad, was slaine by* Felton, p. 199
Amongst whom the managing of Affaires then was ... p. 201
After his death no bettering in the State, but worse ... p. 202
Weston, *if not ballanced by* Laud, *had been worse in Tyrannizing then* Buckingham, p. 203
Councell Table, &c. scourges to the people, ib.
Coventry *a very corrupt man (whose time reached to this very Parliament, yet) not questioned for it*, p. 206
Finch *made chiefe Judge of the Common Pleas*, ib.
Fees in all Courts taken excessively, p. 207
The Bishops and other Court Clergy preach away the peoples liberties and proprieties, ib.
Their turne now to loose both, p. 208
Strafford *the ablest States-man since* Salisburie, p. 209
First brought in by Weston, ib.
He failed in his ignorance of the peoples temper, and of the Kings disability and faithfulnesse in weighty matters and great Agents, p. 211, 213
He was the greatest Subject (not being a Favourite) that ever was, ibid.
Observations upon this K. from his childhood. p. 215
Certain observations before Q. Eliz death. p. 223

FINIS.

370 201